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During the course of his address, the subject advised the people gathered how to make molotov cocktails. He said to "use a pop bottle into which one should place a little bit of dirt, a little bit of Ivory soap, add gasoline and a long rag and then stand by and wait for a pig's car to drive by and when he does, you light the rag and then throw it at the pig's car".

The subject continued by stating "in order to get rid of the establishment, you should kill the pigs, kill your parents, and destroy your schools".

The subject further advised those present to go to Chicago and meet at Lincoln Park on the dates of his trial and make a "People's Park" of it. He also advised the people present to go to Chicago and demonstrate and fight the pigs at the Federal Building. "Just as was done a year ago and if you can't go to Chicago, go to Baltimore Federal Building and do the same thing."

The subject said "Don't get locked up for disorderly conduct; don't get locked up for inciting to riot; but get locked up for killing a pig".

The subject also stated he wished for all the people present to be in Chicago for his trial.

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D [REDACTED] advised Special Agents [REDACTED] on October 4, 1969, that at approximately 9 p.m., on September 19, 1969, he subject addressed approximately 1,500 persons gathered on the campus of the University of Maryland, Catonsville, Maryland.

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A young man introduced PAUL KRASSNER to the audience, and KRASSNER in turn introduced the subject.

The subject advised those gathered to go to Chicago and demonstrate in front of the Federal Building when he would be in Chicago for his trial.

The subject stated to those present to make molotov cocktails and to use them to kill the "pigs" and blow up the "pigs'" cars.

The subject instructed the people on how to make molotov cocktails; he said to take a pop bottle and put a little bit of dirt in it, gasoline, Ivory soap, and put a rag inside and light them, and throw them at "pigs'" cars.

The subject also advised the crowd if they could not go to Chicago, they should demonstrate at Baltimore Federal Buildings.

The "Homewood", newspaper of John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, in its September 26, 1969 issue, contained an article by ART LEVINE, which stated in part as follows:

"Abbie bounced on stage next, dressed in all brown, and started taking as his wild hair was shipped by a cool breeze. He sounds like a hip Boston taxi driver, with the adjective "f-----g" liberally sprinkled throughout his speech.

"BIG SLUGGERY

"This trial, man, ain't a trial -- it's the World Series in the American League of Injustice. It's the Chicago Eight against the Washington Kangaroos, but we're bringing in some big sluggers--and they're all left-fielders. Some of our big guns are DAVE DELLINGER of the

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"Paris Peace Feelers and RENNIE DAVIS of the Hanoi Roses. Like, maybe you think I should be sad about all this, but I'm not weeping any tears. Because, dig, an indictment from the Federal Government is like an Academy Award to me.

"Concluding, HOFFMAN talked about his turn towards violence as a tactic. 'We used to be flower children, but now we've grown thorns. In order to survive, we must learn to fight. I'm for using molotov cocktails--better living through chemistry!'

"But for the up-tight powers-that-be, all hope is not lost. ABBIE wants to end the generation gap. 'Yeah, man ending the generation gap is the first part of the Yippie program,' he said, 'we wanna kill all the parents -- that'll end the gap.'"

"The Retriever", a publication of the University of Maryland, (Baltimore Campus), in its September 30, 1969, issue contained an article which stated in part as follows:

"On Friday evening, September 19, over 1500 hip, pseudo-hip, straight and superstraight, students and non-students gathered at UMBC to hear ABBIE HOFFMAN.

"For ABBIE HOFFMAN, the thing was putting on the press, entertaining, and gathering support for 'Conspiracy Number 2', the second invasion of Chicago.

"The evening began at 3 p.m. with a press conference given by Yippie leader and attended by radio, television and newspaper reporters. In front of the cameras HOFFMAN caught the ire of the WMAR reporter by using language that would make it

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"impossible to show the film on television. Asked of his purpose in coming to UMBC, ABBIE said he came 'To meet a girl; to thank SPIRO AGNEW and the Republican Party for all the money they gave us to overthrow HUBERT HUMPHREY and the Democratic Party'."

C. Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, October 14, 1969

[REDACTED] advised Special Agent [REDACTED] that the subject was due to make a speaking appearance at WMU on October 14, 1969. b7c

On October 14, 1969, Special Agents [REDACTED] observed the subject speak before an assembly at the WMU Auditorium, Kalamazoo, Michigan. b7c

A tape recording was made of this speech, excerpts from which are set forth as follows:

"I have written three books this year. It's amazing how many books you can write when you don't believe in words. One called (obscene) the System. Well, maybe I could give like a brief like run down of what it is like sitting in the center of confusion down there in the Federal Building in the middle of Daly Land. (illigible) USA, I don't know. I guess it is the reenactment of what happened in 1968. It is sort of ah testing out alternative fantasies in the country. The country was gonna be run into the ground by, by people who adhered to the Democratic Party or participating in a convention of death. Whether the future was going to belong to the young people who came up from Lincoln Park to be in the festival of life, or fantasies, the same in a court room (inaudible).

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"Our trial will go on and on. Right to 1984. Then Julius the Just will ask the Chairman of the Jury, or whatever the hell they call him, what do they call 'em foreman. Foreman of the Jury, Marshal, Marshal Dillon, we are reading the foreman of the jury. Foreman of the Jury, have you reached a verdict? We have your honor, we find the eight defendants guilty as charged. Guilty. How can you find us guilty. How do you spell that. With a 'g' or 'q'.

"You are going to see some heavy theatrics on that day. Guilty, for running a pig? Stop the trial, that's the slogan. There ain't no such thing as a fair trial. There are two million seven hundred thousand laws in this country. I ought to know. I've been arrested ten times since the convention. I was arrested for everything from possession of loaded automatics, felonious assault on three cops in the middle of the courthouse to not fastening my seat belt on an airplane. Very heavy offense.

"A couple more weeks and the whole country is going to be overrun with crazy stoned revolutionaries. Yeah, Yeah, I've been to a lot of colleges. I'm getting about a grand for this. Stealing a grand. I don't think there are too many people who are going to make revolution. You think once you get to college you get to know chromosome damage like brain wash, I used to go to high schools, make tours of the high schools in Chicago. Its out of sight. It ain't a bunch of words, its all action. As soon as they find out I'm coming the Chicago School Board meets in midnight sessions, burn the midnight oil (inaudible)

"I think we believe in free speech BUT, okay, but, sorry, invitation has been cancelled. Oh great. I just love that.

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"The revolution begins at home, kill your parents. That's where its at. April 6, 1969, Stanford, Conn., CHARLIE HEWITT, 16 years old, CHARLIE HEWITT, Sr comes home, he's publisher of the Readers Digest, 17½ million readers. Comes home, says son, I was just in Dallas and I gave an anti-Yippie speech, its about time you start living on fatter land. Charlie said, OK. Bang. They took old CHARLIE down to the hospital and started patching him up. We are going to eliminate the generation gap. We are going to build a new nation, no money, no passports, January is alien registration month. You ought to check it out at the local post office, you ought to check it out down there. You ought to go register and become an alien they say if you don't like it here, you gonna get out. Said I already did. There is some radio station in Hartford taking up a collection. I said I'd go if they got me a jet plane. We got a lot of laughs. Get a lot of letters. Dear Abbie, Federal Building, Chicago, Illinois. Like a collection of old letters. If you want to get in the next book, send a letter down. I ain't going to be able to write it where I'm going, so you got to write it. Just like, ah, staple them all together and call it a book. Put a book jacket on it, sleeves and a zipper, it says B O O K, book, its a jacket. Yeah, wear it. We aren't doing things that way here. Oh yeah, is that right. Tough (obscene). We ain't there, we're another nation. We don't steal, we don't steal here, we have laws against that stuff. I know you got a lot of laws, 800 thousand laws in this country against stealing. Everything from ideas, flowers, automobiles, elevators, property, is theft. Property already is robbery. I mean if you own it you deserve to have it ripped off. That doesn't mean that we don't respect art. I think the goal of the revolution ought to be to turn all property to an art. More and more art. Till you get to be like the Balenese. Some missionaries asked the Balenese, they said, how come you ain't got a word for art in your language and they said, we just do everything the best we can, man. That's a heavy trip. We just do everything the best we can.

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"Well, I know it all seems weird, that's what this culture's about, weird. Sure its weird. Yeah. I'd like to see the government overthrown. It would make a (obsene) good movie. The Central Committee. They're already decided. I'm going to be Secretary of Agriculture. And we ain't going to grow pumpkins for Halloween. Ah, ah, Halloween is going to be a high holiday. So you cats want to come down to Chicago."

The October 15, 1969 issue of the "Kalamazoo Gazette", a daily newspaper published in Kalamazoo, Michigan, contained an article regarding the subject's speech at the WMU, on October 14, 1969, which stated in part as follows:

"Trips, to the moon and elsewhere, were on Abbie Hoffman's mind here Tuesday.

"Subjects such as Spiro Agnew, Bert Parks, Miss America, police, power, pot history, life, death, religion, and Moratorium were there, too.

"The 'Yippie' leader strung them together in a 90-minute talk to some 1,600 persons Tuesday night at Western Michigan University Auditorium.

"Hoffman, inventor of the Youth International Party, is among the eight defendants in the current Chicago conspiracy trial.

"The world series of injustice' is the way the 32-year old onetime clinical psychologist described the courtroom battle.

"Of the final verdict: 'We're going down.'

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"Mixed in with commentary of the Chicago trial was a survey of Americana seasoned by four-letter words including 'life' and 'work'.

"We're going to eliminate the generation gap," he said, 'The revolt begins at home. Kill your parents.'

"Then to his concept of government.

"A government that keeps the roads going. Period. We'll figure out the rest'."

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[REDACTED] made available
to Special Agent [REDACTED] copy of a tape recording of
a news conference held by [REDACTED]
the subject, on October 14, 1969.

The following excerpts of the subject's remarks were taken from the tapes:

"What I'm doing right here is to invite everybody to come back to Chicago between October 29 and November 3, when we'll have a whole series of demonstrations, and cross state lines to do this, cross state lines with intent which is like up to the people to decide what intent is and I'm guilty under the anti-riot law passed in 1968 and subject to ten more years in prison. This is no different than what we did. Evidence being offered against us in Chicago, at press conferences, news conferences, statements to reporters, articles that we've written, telephone calls that we've made, speeches that we gave, that's what we're being tried for. We're not being tried for carrying guns and dynamite across state lines with some underage kicks. We've been charged with crossing state lines with a state of mind. It's the first time the

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"Federal government has ever decided to rule on it. Since I have massive chromosome damage, I mean, you know whose to determine what state of mind I've got. It seems in the brow of Ho Chi Ming just before he passed on and worked out with the good folks on Danton (?) right across the city line."

D. Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, October 26, 1969

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furnished the following information:

LEONARD I. WEINGLASS, self-identified as one of the attorneys who represent ABBOTTHOWARD HOFFMAN and seven other persons charged with conspiring to incite riots during the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, Illinois, in 1968, spoke to an audience of approximately 125 persons at Atwood Hall, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, from about noon until 1:30 p.m., on Sunday, October 26, 1969.

Practically all of those persons in attendance were students and they were requested to donate \$1.00 each.

ABBOTTHOWARD HOFFMAN also spoke briefly and talked in a humorous and semi-serious manner on subjects ranging from Fascism to American Indians.

[REDACTED] advised that no incidents of violence took place.

E. Minuteman Statue, Concord, Massachusetts, October 26, 1969

A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed ABBOTT HOFFMAN appear at the Minuteman Statue, Concord, Massachusetts, at 4:30 p.m., on October 26, 1969, for a press

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conference. He appeared with a group of approximately ten followers, including a person introduced as his attorney. He attempted to speak at times in a light vein but gained no response. He referred to his present trial in Chicago and the Antiriot Law as against a people's state of mind and stated that people are being charged with their thoughts. He spoke against the Vietnam War and stated that this society was not instituted for such a purpose.

HOFFMAN stated that his trial in Chicago was like going to school where they had recess morning and afternoon and time out for lunch. He added that he was not being tried by a jury of his peers and claimed that all jurors were seated without being questioned except to be asked if they could return a fair verdict. He considered the jurors to be a group of fat, middle-aged individuals and he had no hope of a not guilty verdict being returned. He stated he does not hold the judge or the court in high esteem.

HOFFMAN stated the present trial in Chicago was nothing but a harassment of a cultural revolution and the only thing for which anyone could be found guilty of would be contempt. He referred to the judge at his present trial as the "Hanging Judge".

He further stated that BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPP did not know he was going to Chicago when arrested as he did not know what he had done. He stated that SEALE only gave one fifteen-minute speech and for this is on trial.

HOFFMAN invited people to protest the Vietnam War on November 15, 1969, in Washington, D. C. They would parade at 5:00 p.m. on that date upon leaving Moratorium Rally and march to the Justice Department.

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HOFFMAN stated that he believed in free food, free clothing, everything free and shared by all in the community. He was asked by an unidentified newspaper reporter if he meant Communism and his reply was "Call it what you like".

He also referred to his press conference as being held where the revolutionary processes started in this country and inferred that his form of a revolution was a continuation of the original American Revolution.

He stated that the purpose of his appearance at the Minuteman Statue was to obtain a following and financial backing for his trial in Chicago. He stated he needed a lot of "bread" and "needed \$50,000. just to bribe the judge".

The press conference broke off abruptly and HOFFMAN and his group left the area immediately.

Approximately thirty individuals listened to his press conference, most of whom were visitors to this National Monument.

F. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 26, 1969

677 [redacted] that the subject spoke at Lowell Lecture Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 7:30 p.m. to 8:10 p.m. on October 26, 1969.

[redacted] that an admission charge of \$1.50 was made at Lowell Lecture Hall and approximately twelve hundred people, including students and graduate students at Harvard University, attended the speech.

[redacted] that HOFFMAN took a frivolous and humorous approach to the trial which is taking place in Chicago, Illinois, in which HOFFMAN and seven others have been charged with violation of Antiriot Statutes for their part in the disturbances which accompanied the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois. HOFFMAN stated the defendants

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were using "fun" as their defense. He stated that fun was a sneaky thing in the United States and it really scared people. He said that he and his fellow defendants were on trial under the provisions of the "Civil Rights Act" which makes it a crime to travel interstate to incite, organize, promote, encourage participants in and carry on a riot.

HOFFMAN was accompanied by LEONARD WEINGLASS and JERRY LEFCOURT whom he described as defense attorneys for the Chicago Eight. WEINGLASS spoke briefly and stated that Federal Judge JULIUS HOFFMAN had committed so much reversible error during the trial to date that the defense attorneys were very pessimistic about getting a reversal.

[REDACTED] A collection to aid the defense fund was taken up. [REDACTED] estimated that approximately \$200. was collected.

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D [REDACTED] that a portion of the admission charge would also be awarded to HOFFMAN as he was the principal speaker. [REDACTED] unable to provide information as to the exact amount which would be paid HOFFMAN.

G. State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York, November 8, 1969

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D [REDACTED] Special Agent [REDACTED] that HOFFMAN made an appearance at Buffalo State College at 2:00 p.m. on November 8, 1969, for a "rally". He stated he was very poorly received and spoke only briefly. There were only approximately 150 persons, and HOFFMAN was discouraged by this turnout.

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[REDACTED] that on that date the subject spoke to an overflowing crowd of approximately 3,000 persons at the Norton Student Union at the State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York.

[REDACTED] that this speech was sponsored by the SDS and other new left groups in the Buffalo, New York area.

[REDACTED] HOFFMAN began his speech at approximately 8:00 p.m. and his first discussion was an analysis of the Statute under which the Conspiracy Eight had been arrested and the validity of the Statute. He next characterized Federal Court Judge JULIUS HOFFMAN as "Queen Julius" and said he is a racist and has close connections with capitalism in the United States. The next subject was the treatment accorded defendant BOBBY SEALE during the trial when SEALE was gagged and bound in the courtroom. HOFFMAN next spoke of the Moratorium activities to be held in Washington, D. C., the weekend of November 14 to 16, 1969, and advised all present to try to attend these activities. He stated they would be going to Washington prepared to do battle and that they would attempt to change the thrust of these activities to a demonstration to stop the trial in Chicago. HOFFMAN concluded his speech at approximately 9:00 p.m. with a short question and answer session.

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[REDACTED] made available to Special Agent [REDACTED] a tape recording of the speech made by the subject from 8:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. at the Norton Student Union, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York. [REDACTED]

The following excerpts of the subject's speech were taken from this tape recording:

"Conspiracy trial in Wash--, Chicago, this ain't in Washington 'cause really it's a Federal trial, Federal law. It's all 1984 double talk fascism. They put it in like a very complicated way. Ah they got a reason for doing that. They do it in the courts rather than out in the streets, it's neater. Fascism ah always prides itself on its neatness, its decorum, as the judge would put it. Its gotta be neat, and its gotta be legal, and above all, its gotta be fair, a fair trial. April tenth ah 1968, Congress ah in memory of Martin Luther King decided to pass a Civil Rights Act, and in that act was a statute called the Anti-Riot law. That was ah put forth by that great civil rights advocate, Strom Thurmond (laughter). It's about this long--makes everything that we're doing now illegal. Conspiracy with intent, no, conspiracy to cross state lines with intent to incite a riot. It ain't for like kicking cops in the shins, spitting on the sidewalk, ain't even for dumping a pig in a civic center in Chicago, making movies without a permit, and none of that. Conspiracy to cross state lines with the intention of inciting a riot; it's all a question of intent, and intent happens to be a state of mind. First time the Federal Government in 200 years of its history has ever decided to legislate against a state of mind. We're not charged with like crossing state lines, you know, with little girls like under the Mann Act or little boys under the Strom Thurmond Act or, or ah carrying guns across state lines but doing any act of violence or in fact, even inciting a riot. We're being charged for intention to incite riot, conspiracy, overt conspiracy. The eight of us had never met before Chicago, we didn't meet until we were arraigned last April in Chicago. Some of us had met each other. We had heard about each other. And it was good when we met up 'cause we decided before we got in there for that arraignment that we were gonna call ourselves the Conspiracy 'cause we were right proud of what we had done in Chicago ...think it oughtta happen a whole lot more (applause). And we weren't

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"gonna ah sit back and let the Government go on the offensive. We were gonna maintain offensive militant defense in the courtroom just as we haddone in the streets of Chicago when they refused to give us a permit which we had negotiated five or six months in order to stay in Lincoln Park ten miles away from the convention. The conspiracy--conspiracy means to breathe together. That's it--(breathes heavily)--penalty is five years for doing it and \$20,000 fine. Twenty grand ain't (obscene). I mean where I live on the lower East Side standing in front of Jim's Bar, you can panhandle twenty grand in about an hour (laughter). Pick it up easy. You can pick up to ten years too come to, come to think about it, yeah. You get ten years sure as hell down there. You know what you get for ah--down the lower East Side, they have a bust called ah Say So Bust--you ever get that? You know, walking down the street and a cop'll grab you by the back of your long hair, throw you up against the building, smack you on the head, you know, you pick up and he says, you're under arrest. You say why? He says 'cause I say so. That's called a Say So Bust. You probably got a few of them around here. As soon as you get a Buffalo Nine of some other kind of baseball team together, you know, (laughter) the Buffalo clubs come in, wanna play ya. Conspiracy with intent to cross state lines. You know how you cross state lines? Yeah, a recording's being made of this, you know, maybe going to New Jersey, I'll say ah come on November 15th down in Washington. Now somebody over in New Jersey hears that, they go down to Washington see and then you have a riot. Now a riot's really an interesting word. According to Strom Thurmond, a riot occurs in a group of ah three or more people in which one or more people commit an act of violence or threat of violence. Now he doesn't, the law doesn't say who's gotta do it. Like ah the official Government report, the Walker Report, said that Chicago was a police riot but that doesn't matter either. You know it doesn't matter whether police rioted or the demonstrators ---sort of like getting blamed for being lynched (laughter). You have to like put it in its perspective. So that's the law that we go into the court with--pretty hard to prove you're

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"innocent. A state of mind, seeing how you think all the schools ought to be destroyed and think the overthrow of the U.S. Government'd make a pretty interesting movie (laughter), (obscene) like that. Queen Julius, Julius the Just Hoffman. You wouldn't believe this guy, not in your wildest dreams. He's 74 years old. His life has spanned the history of modern western civilization. He was alive at both Balkan Wars, just missed the Titanic (laughter), prides himself on his civil rights accomplishments. They were questioning the jury, you know, they ah at one point he ah asked perspective jurors ah have you known Mr. Kuntzler from New York? He always sticks in that Kunstler comes from New York, you know, and Mr. Newark (accented)--what's your name, sir? He says fineglass? Wineglass, yes. He's always flubbing up the names. Dellinger he's good at. You know, he says ah defendant Dillinger, ah Derringer, Derringer, yeah, sit down, sit down.

"We feel the only way that we're gonna be set free and the next conspracy trial is not gonna occur is that this (OBSCENE) trial be stopped (applause). This is ah conspiracy to obstruct justice, that's another ten (OBSCENE) years. Stop this trial means that you at no time legitimatized that institution. You at no time recognize its power or its authority over you. You at no time lose your human quality. Masses of people that arise up angry around this country demanding that that trial, Buffalo Nine trial, and all other trials like that be stopped.

"So we know that ours ain't the only trial. We know it's symbolic of a lot of trials and a lot of (obscene) that's coming down on a whole lot of people. Whether they're involved in the Black Liberation struggle, whether they're supporting the NLF and the people of Vietnam in the heroic struggle against fascist imperialism (applause) or whether it's about people that, who are engaged in a new cultural revolution 'cause

"it's sick and tired of the old cultural values that their senile (OBSCENE) parents have laid down on 'em (applause). All there in that trial. Learning how to breathe together. You better start learning that, getting a little insight because if you don't learn to breathe together, the Government's gonna show you how to hang together. And it's all gonna be legal. That's very important to remember. Legal, six million Jews went to the gas ovens, legal, with a lot of decorum and a lot of neatness. We gotta learn that about sticking together. That's what I said in the French struggle (quote French). That means we all need to take baths. That's what it means if you translate it. All Viet Cong, all black people, all hippies, we're all out to wreck this (OBSCENE) system (applause). See, when you come down to Washington and you come--who's coming? Is anybody coming? Oh (OBSCENE)! We ain't got any room, we'll make it. We'll make the room.

"We'll be down there sometime between the four thousandth and the four thousandth and one speech, 5 p.m., you'll hear this chant going up and you dig it, get into it. Gonna go, 'Stop the trial! Stop the trial!' And we'll be moving out down Constitution Avenue, down to the Department of Injustice, about six blocks down the road, where old John 'the Butcher' Mitchell hangs out. We heard Spiro 'the Brain' Agnew is gonna be hiding out there too (laughter) (applause). We wanna pay him a visit. His daughter's gonna be with us (laughter) (much applause). She's a yippie. I know 'cause we (OBSCENE) (applause). She's getting good too (laughter). Yeah, that's okay. She takes the pill so Spiro don't sweat it. Well, we're gonna picket the Department of Justice. We're gonna pick it up and take it home (laughter). We hope you all'll be there. Make some flags, banners, talk about Buffalo Nine. You bring them in as your baseball team to the World Series of Injustice down there in Washington. We'll play those Washington Kangaroos, give them a hell of a (OBSCENE) battle. And when we do, they'll learn that people are not gonna sit by and let these trials go on around the country the way they're going. They're gonna rise up angry full of outrage,

"gonna mount up like Paul Revere, ride all over the (OBSCENE) country, tell 'em pigs are comin'. Pigs are coming (laughter). 'Cause ain't us, we ain't gonna be with ya, we'll be down there in Washington; but after that, they're gonna take bail away and call conspiracy for telling you all to go down there. We ain't Sam Brown's, so we hope you'll be there. Loads of people, big outrage, make 'em pay for what they're doing then maybe they won't do it anymore. 'Cause courts are not about justice. Lenny Bruce once said in America, in the hall of justice, the justice is in the halls. It ain't about justice, it's about a struggle of power. Power of the people versus power of those in the establishment. And they're losing. They know they're losing. Everyday they take a whack against us in that courtroom, every time they add on another three months for contempt. They know that millions of people around the country are developing contempt for that last enclave of the empire, the courtroom. 'Cause everybody's got this whole thing in their head. Yeah, the schools stink, we don't want our (OBSCENE) thing there. We know it. Down these rules, no (OBSCENE) good. Sure cops pigs, sure they're brutal. Sure politics are corrupt, our politicians are corrupt; but in the courts, you get a fair deal. You can get your man; you can argue; you can debate; you can open the dialogue; you can have fairness. (OBSCENE) fairness! I'll tell you, if we had those (OBSCENE) prosecutors on trial, they wouldn't get a fair trial. You better believe it (applause). Trials should be conducted by people. You oughtta check out Cuba and see how they do it. People try trying to judge just like... You know, keeping track of how the people are voting. People on the block try their person, and they get 'em up there and it's not like all guilty, you know, guilty or innocent thing. They ask them if he like understands what he did and if he thinks it was wrong and everything and if he can do better the next time. And it's done like that. You know? If he don't then they send him up, and he's rehabilitated. Now I ain't just saying that as a word game. I mean they teach him, and they teach him the importance of revolutionary struggle and living in a collective. The good of one is the good of all. The good of all is the good of one, and it's all the same. Individuality and coactivity, it's a false dichotomy.

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"That would be kind of fair, put us in a room alone with the jury and the prosecutors--that would be fair. Talk about fairness in American courtroom now? Insane! And it's the last enclave of the empire. We know when this trial is over, gonna effect a whole lot of people who have been sitting on the fence in the middle but if we win, well, you come down to Chicago and we'll have a big victory party out in the street. We'll be dancing and (OBSCENE) on the grave of this sytem like there's never been dancing and (OBSCENE) in the streets before. And we hope you all're there; and if you can't come there, you stay right here and do your own conspiracy 'cause that's the spirit of our struggle. Keep those homefires burning! So long brother! (applause) All to Washington now, you hear ... George Dewey ... (applause)."

H. Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, November 12, 1969

The "Evening News", a Newark, New Jersey daily newspaper, in its November 13, 1969, City-County Edition, on page 21, contained an article by BEN ST. JOHN, evening news staff writer, entitled "Abbie Tells 'Chicago 8' Story As He Sees It", which stated in part as follows:

"Yippie leader Jerry Rubin never made it to Rutgers University from Chicago last night. But his fiery fellow Yippie and co-defendant in the 'Chicago 8' trial, Abbie Hoffman, did.

"Hoffman showed up at the university gymnasium in place of Rubin, who was to have spoken at Rutgers, but was arrested in Chicago after walking out of the courtroom.

"Hoffman told the gathering of about 900 persons who turned out expecting to hear Rubin, that Rubin's bail was revoked and a federal bench warrant had been issued for his arrest. This was done, he said, after Rubin left the Chicago courtroom where he, Hoffman and five others are being tried on riot and conspiracy charges stemming from the 1968 Democratic National Convention protests.

"What really happened, Hoffman told the gathering in explaining Rubin's disappearance, is that 'Rubin had to go to the bathroom and every time you go to the bathroom you lose your ball'.

"Hoffman delivered an extemporaneous talk liberally laced with scathing comments aimed primarily at Judge Julius E. Hoffman, presiding judge in the 'Chicago 8' trial.

"And his bitter denunciations of Judge Hoffman along with the Nixon administration and 'the system' evoked numerous bursts of applause and, at the end, a standing ovation from the crowd which included the long-haired, short-haired, the young and the old.

"Referring to Judge Hoffman, the Yippie leader said, 'He considers himself the John Brown of Chicago-- the great civil rights advocate'.

"He said there is no evidence to support the charges brought against the defendants. 'They haven't got the evidence. They want to send us up the river without evidence. That's what fascism is all about. The whole evidence against Bobby Seale is some guy showed a ticket to prove he flew from San Francisco to Chicago.'

"As he concluded his talk, Hoffman told the crowd: 'Come on down to Washington. I'll see ya in Washington.' Both he and Rubin said they would lead many of the antiwar protesters in a march Saturday to the Justice Department building.

"As he was leaving Rutgers last night, Hoffman said he was on his way to Washington to check on the development of plans for Saturday's march before returning to Chicago by 10 a.m. today, in time for court."

"The Star-Ledger", a Newark, New Jersey newspaper, in its November 13, 1969 issue, final edition, on page 16, contained an article entitled "Hoffman makes Newark visit in Rubin's place", which stated in part as follows:

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"Youth International (Yipie) Party Leader Abbie Hoffman landed at Newark Airport last night on his way to fill a speaking commitment at Rutgers University for fellow Yippie Jerry Rubin.

"Hoffman was met by several U.S. marshals and policemen seeking Rubin who walked out of the Chicago courtroom where the duo and five others are on trial. A warrant was issued for Rubin's arrest when he was noticed missing and his 10,000 bail revoked.

"Hoffman said Rubin simply 'had to go to the men's room'.

"The gaily dressed Hoffman was the 13th passenger off an American airlines jet. A U.S. Marshal's car and several policemen were waiting for the plane, apparently in case Rubin was on board.

"Hoffman was greeted by several Rutgers students.

"The Yippie said plans he and Rubin announced earlier in the day to lead a protest march on the Justice Department Saturday, to protest the trial, now almost two-months old, would be carried out.

"The long-haired Hoffman said, as he got into the car, 'If we don't learn to fight we'll be in prison with our hair cut'."

"The Daily Home News", a New Brunswick, New Jersey newspaper, in its November 13, 1969 Central Edition, on pages one and 54, contained an article by GORDON SHARP, Home News staff writer, entitled "Chicago 8' Support Sort", which stated in part as follows:

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"Abbie Hoffman, a leader of the Youth International Party (Yippie), last night issued a call to Rutgers University students to march with him against the U.S. Department of Justice in Washington, D. C. Saturday to protest the trial of the 'Chicago Eight'.

"Hoffman addressed a crowd of about 700 students in the Rutgers Gymnasium in place of Jerry Rubin, another Yippie leader originally scheduled to speak. Rubin was detained in Chicago following revocation of his bail.

"Hoffman issued his invitation to join the Saturday march on the 'Department of Injustice' and described the Washington Monument as 'some kind of Freudian symbol'. Describing his flight from Chicago to Newark, he said he 'was pretty stoned over Pennsylvania'.

"Referring to the federal anti-conspiracy law against being in 'a state of mind' to commit conspiracy when crossing state lines, Hoffman said, 'This is the first time in history this nation ever passed legislation against a "state of mind".'

"Sprinkling his speech with occasional four-letter words, Hoffman referred to President Richard M. Nixon as a 'used-car dealer'.

"On the subject of the Chicago riot and conspiracy trials, he said, 'Fascism has already come when they start arresting people for inciting the police to riot.'

"The jury, I wouldn't let my daughter marry any of them," said Hoffman. He was greeted with frequent laughter and applause.

"He described Judge Julius J. Hoffman, presiding trial judge, as a short, bald man who is 'always drunk' and whose wife is on the board of the Brunswick Corp. 'that makes bowling balls and special ammunition for Vietnam.'

"He said Judge Hoffman is called 'McGoo' by the Chicago defendants and is always late for the morning sessions.

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"He comes in, falls in his chair and says, 'Let justice commence'."

"Bobby Seale was railroaded," said Hoffman. Seale, another of the 'Chicago Eight,' had been sentenced by Judge Hoffman to four years in prison on 16 counts of contempt of court after being bound and gagged in the courtroom.

"Hoffman said the judge denied Seale the right to defend himself because 'the judge wants to get us before he croaks.' He said Rutgers scientists and others had worked to devise a gag to keep Seale quiet. 'We are all in contempt of court,' said Hoffman. 'We don't respect that court.'"

"Referring frequently to 'modern-day fascism,' Hoffman said, 'That's what fascism is all about, sending people up without evidence and calling it legal. Millions of Jews were sent to the gas ovens and it was all legal.'"

"Hoffman asked how many students were going to Washington, and several hundred hands were raised. He then led a chant he said would be used on the march, that ended with the words 'seven-eight, smash the state'."

"I'll see you in Washington," said Hoffman as he left the stage. A hat was passed among the audience after Hoffman made an appeal for 'bread' to defray legal and travel expenses, and it was filled with large and small denomination bills."

I. Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, December 7, 1969

The December 3, 1969, issue of the "Yale Daily News", a University daily newspaper, reported that ABBIE HOFFMAN, non-leader of the yippie movement, would come to the Law School Auditorium Sunday afternoon at 3:00 p.m. for an appearance on behalf of the "Chicago 7."

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According to the article, he would be sponsored by the "Greater Connecticut Yippie Empire," which describes itself as "an uncertain coalition of Yale and New Haven groups and individuals, some with a surprising passion for anonymity."

Continuing, the article stated that the exact subject of HOFFMAN's presentation remained unknown. His prime targets in recent months have included the information booth at Grand Central Station, the Democratic Party, Chicago Mayor RICHARD J. DALY and the entire non-Woodstock nation.

The "Yale Daily News", in it's issue of December 8, 1969, contained an article entitled "Yippie Leader Hoffman Explains Trial, Revolution" which stated in part as follows:

"Yippie leader and 'Conspiracy' member Abbie Hoffman, 34, brought his theater of politics, culture, and revolution to Yale yesterday in a speech before an enthusiastic crowd overflowing the Law School auditorium.

"Standing on the platform where law students argue mock trials, Hoffman delivered a stream-of-conscious monologue centering on two themes: the Chicago Conspiracy trial and the 'decay of the American Empire.'

"Hoffman, whose electrical presence and relaxed manner are difficult to describe, termed the trial 'the eighth wonder of the world....' The Chicago Conspiracy vs. the Washington kangeroos; the People of the United States vs. David Dellinger et al stars.'

"The purpose of the trial, according to Hoffman, is to 'show young people they shouldn't open their mouths if they know what's good for them.'

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"We're on trial for a state of mind," said Hoffman. 'Conspiracy to incite a riot. I had thought conspiracy was a good thing--it means to breathe together.

"And in their language," continued Hoffman, 'we're charged with an "overt" conspiracy--arrived at publicly without our even meeting together.

"It's not easy to incite a riot--I've tried for years. You need dumb pigs and a Mayor Daley," said Hoffman.

"Ours is the politics of being. Our existence is a provocation and a "crime".

Hoffman also criticized the 'American Empire' and called for a political and cultural revolution.

"The 1960's have been the trial of the American government. We should consider the evidence and then sentence that government to death.... Revolutionary violence is downright exciting; it's what's needed.

"I've never understood flower power. I thought it referred to Venus fly traps," said Hoffman.

"But he also described himself as a 'cultural revolutionary.'

"I want to overthrow the government; I think it would make a good movie.'

"The American Empire is decaying around us like a dinosaur," said Hoffman. 'We must start a new nation. We are people bent on survival and defense. We must protect our nation from an invasion of pigs. In our nation it is forbidden to salute the flag of America.'

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"Hoffman discussed the problems of trying to organize for the new nation."

J. Future Speaking Engagements.

b7D [redacted] that the subject is scheduled to speak at 8:00 p.m. on April 7, 1970, in the Student Activity Center of the State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical College, Alfred, New York.

[redacted] that the College Union Board at Alfred Tech, a campus group which sponsors the appearance on campus of guest speakers is sponsoring the subject's appearance at Alfred Tech.

[redacted] that the subject is scheduled to appear on the campus of Kansas State College, Pittsburg, Kansas, for a lecture on April 15, 1970, on the topic "Revolution for the Hell of It."

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IV. WRITINGS

On September 29, 1969, [redacted] Frank D. Jacobs Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, advised Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] that on approximately September 12, 1969, they had received an order from Concert Hall Publications, 309 South Easton Road, Glenside, Pennsylvania, for the printing of 30,000 copies of a book entitled, "Woodstock Nation." They advised the company had bid on this order without knowing the nature of the publication. They explained that the actual publisher of the book is Random House of New York City and that the Frank D. Jacobs Company as well as Concert Hall Publications would be considered sub-contractor. [redacted] stated that upon ascertaining the nature of this publication he contacted [redacted] of Concert Hall Publications and had him state in writing that the book

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was in compliance with the laws of Pennsylvania with respect to the printing of pornographic material in that the work is a work of literature and has intrinsic literary value.

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[REDACTED] stated that the original order was for 30,000 copies for Vintage Books, a division of Random House, and an additional 6,000 copies which are ordered under the name of Random House and which are apparently being published with a hard cover rather than the soft cover utilized by Vintage Books. He stated that on the morning of September 29, 1969, he received an additional order for 3,000 copies of only the cover of "Woodstock Nation." He advised that when the printing job is completed on approximately October 1, 1969, Concert Hall Publications will be billed for the job and in turn will collect from Random House. On approximately October 1, 1969, the printed copies will be forwarded to Excelsior Bindery, 441 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. When the binding is completed on approximately October 4, 1969, Excelsior Bindery will begin shipment of the books. [REDACTED] stated that as yet he has received no instructions as to where the books should be shipped.

[REDACTED] made available a proof copy of the book "Woodstock Nation". The front cover contains a picture of a raised arm with a clenched fist and the words "Woodstock Nation" by ABBIE HOFFMAN. The back cover contains a picture of ABBIE HOFFMAN.

On pages 108 to 111, there appears a response by the subject to his indictment in the form of a letter directed to Attorney General JOHN MITCHELL.

On pages 113 to 117 there appears reproductions of a section of army field manual FM 19-30 which pertains to the manufacture of incendiary devices which could later be

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used for disruptive purposes, including sending these devices into crowds by means of attaching them to dogs.

"The Village Voice", a New York City weekly newspaper, in its October 9, 1969 issue, on page 22, under the heading "Scenes", contained an article which stated as follows concerning the subject's book entitled "Woodstock Nation".

"ALREADY TWO publications are burning up the presses to coincide with the Chicago trial games. One book is called the 'Official Pogrom' and helps warm up each side's spirit during the confrontation of the 'Chicago Conspiracy' Team (whose mascot is an albatross on its back)-versus the 'Washington Kangeroos' team (whose mascot is a kangaroo with a pig springing from its pouch).

"The second pre-game prep rap will come out somewhat behind schedule. Abbie Hoffman's book 'Woodstock Nation,' a free flight but ultimately bum trip documentation of Abbie's adventures in Bethel, was written in five days off the skull, so that the proceeds could go to the defense fund in Chicago. It was speeded to the printers in Philadelphia, but one of the printers got the chauvinistic shakes and decided he was aiding and abetting subversive activity. The police arrived and loitered around, but didn't have a warrant; the next day the FBI visited the premises but were dissuaded when it was pointed out that the same press also printed J. Edgar Hoover's tracts.

"Abbie's book maps a private nightmare; it's 'an attempt to recapture the mess that was up in Woodstock and out there in the Pig Nation. I also try to open the door to the mess that is in my head and yours. The medium is the mess.' It free-associates on his experiences in both 'Woodstock Nation' and 'Pig Nation', indicates the insanity of both but the better madness in Woodstock. His confession is that he couldn't figure the festival, fight it, or sink into it, because from his vantage point it would be more effective if all that power would produce some thorns before flowers. 'Maybe it wouldn't have been a bad place to do all that groovy stuff...maybe

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"AFTER THE REVOLUTION...That's right, after cause for me there's still a long way to go...."

"'Woodstock Nation,' complete with photos, drawings, and multi-colored pages, comes out November 7, making it the first, and probably the weirdest book on the Aquarian Expo."

"The Washington Post" newspaper, in its November 19, 1969 issue, on page B13, contained a book review of the subject's book "Woodstock Nation", by WILLIAM MC PHERSON, book editor of "The Washington Post" entitled "Oh, Wow! Abbie Hoffman Lands on Earth" which stated in part as follows:

"Oh, wow! as the author of this book would say. Here is Random House, wedded to the mixed-media giant, Radio Corporation of America, sheltering under its incredible umbrella both Daniel Boorstin, the guru of the consumer community, and Abbie Hoffman, the Harpo Marx of the Revolution, who claims to have written this remarkable little book in five days while lying upside down, stoned, on the floor of an unused office of his publisher.

"Judging from the evidence, the claim is correct. Woodstock Nation is a pastiche of rock lyrics, newspaper clippings, newsreels, quotations, from Mein Kampf, Walter Cronkite and various promotional brochures; a phony letter from Che Guevara and an authentic one to Attorney General Mitchell--the whole liberally salted with those words that Mother used to wash your mouth out for using.

"It is about--if such a word can be used in reference to this document--the formation of a new community ('the first attempt to land a man on the earth') at last summer's Woodstock Festival in Bethel, N.Y. Dr. Boorstin's book, The

"Decline of Radicalism, which was reviewed here yesterday, is about community, too, 'the American idea and institution of community.'

"You would not be too far wrong if you said they approached the subject from diametrically opposite points of view, Dr. Boorstin being an intellectual Spiro Agnew and Abbie Hoffman a political dadaist. Neither would feel comfortable in the other's community.

"The trouble is that Abbie Hoffman doesn't smoke-- at least not Winstons. He is writing about 'a generation that may be growing disdainful of brand loyalties and store images.' He is, in fact, 'a cultural revolutionary,' searching for a new way to integrate his own 'ego trip with a sense of community, with a concept of the "we," and his loyalty is not to Dr. Boorstin's brands.

"When you get right down to it,' Abbie writes, 'we are guilty of being members of a vast conspiracy. A conspiracy pitted against the war in Vietnam and the government that still perpetuates that war, against the oppression of black communities, against the harassment of our cultural revolution, against an educational system that seems only to channel us into a society we see as corrupt and impersonal, against the growing police state, and finally against the dehumanizing work roles that a capitalist economic system demands.

"What we are for, quite, simply, is a total revolution. We are for a society in which the people directly decide and control the decisions that affect their lives. We are for people's power or as one of our brothers in Berkeley put it, "soulful socialism"...Revolution is more than digging rock or turning on. The revolution is about coming together in a struggle for change.'

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"In Abbie Hoffman's book and in Dr. Boorstin's, style obscures content. The danger is that Dr. Boorstin's appears reasonable and Abbie Hoffman's mad, that the one will be taken too seriously and the other too lightly, for Dr. Boorstin is a director of a Smithsonian Institution museum and Abbie is on trial for conspiracy in Chicago".

The December, 1969 issue of "UR" (University Review) published weekly by Entelechy Press, on page 25 contained an article by the subject entitled "The Hard Rain's Already Falling" in which the subject stated in part as follows:

"Someday real soon we're going to see posters in the post office that say 'WANTED FOR CONSPIRACY TO INCITE RIOT' and there smiling out at us will be pictures of our favorite rock groups. Unreal? Well maybe you're not hip to what's been going down lately. The Law and Order apes and this senile dinosaur we call a government have flipped out. Preventive detention, the no-knock clause in the new drug laws, and the extensive use of wire-tapping by the Justice Department are all part of a wave of repression. Over 300 Black Panthers are now in jail in a national plot to destroy their organization. White radicals are being arrested. Underground newspapers are being harassed. G.I.'s who speak out are receiving harsh sentences. The police have been unleashed. A year ago in Chicago it was clubs and tear gas, last spring in Berkeley it was shotguns, and last month in Washington, more tear gas.

"....If the government wanted to it could bust rock groups on charges of conspiracy to incite riot. Last year Congress passed an anti-riot act which made it illegal to urge people to go to an event at which a riot later occurs.

The law makes it illegal to travel from state to state, write letters or telegrams, speak on the radio or television, make a telephone call with the intention of encouraging people to participate in a riot. A riot meaning an act of violence occurring in an assemblage of three or more persons. The people doing the urging never have to commit an act of

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" violence or know the people who do. They never, in fact, have to urge a riot. William Kunstler, famed constitutional lawyer feels 'rock and roll stars and promoters could be prosecuted under this law if violence occurred at a show.'

"The law is now being tested in the trial of eight movement activists: Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Jerry Rubin, Bobby Seale, Lee Weiner, and myself, all participants in the demonstrations a year ago last August in Chicago. You remember Chicago where the facade of a democratically run convention was washed down the streets with the blood of young people. The Whole World Was Watching and what it saw was what the official Walker Report later termed a 'police riot'. Richard Nixon wants to put an end to demonstrations. Mayor Daley wants revenge. They have decided to set an example to anyone who speaks out against the government by putting us in prison for ten years.

"None of us are shedding any tears about our trial in Chicago. In a sense the indictments are like receiving the academy award for our work. Many of us have already done time in jail. We have been arrested and beaten numerous times, we have lived with the F.B.I. following us and monitoring our phone calls. For us personally the trial is just a part of our activity in the movement. When you get down to it we are guilty of being members of a vast conspiracy. A conspiracy pitted against the war in Vietnam and the government that still perpetuates that war, against the oppression of black communities, against the harassment of our cultural revolution, against an educational system that seeks only to channel us into a society we see as corrupt and impersonal, against the growing police state, and finally against dehumanizing work roles that a capitalist economic system demands. What we are for quite simply is a total revolution. We are for a society in which the people directly control the decisions that affect their lives.

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"We are for people's power or as one of our brothers in Berkeley put it 'soulful socialism.' In the past few years our numbers have grown from hundreds to millions of young people. Our conspiracy has grown more militant. Flower children have lost their innocence and grown their thorns. We have recognized that our culture in order to survive must be defended. Furthermore we have realized that the revolution is more than digging rock or turning on. The revolution is about coming together in a struggle for change. It is about the destruction of a system based on bosses and competition and the building of a new community based on people and cooperation. That old system is dying all around us and we joyously come out in the streets to dance on its grave. With our free shores, liberated buildings, communes, people's parks, dope, free bodies and our music, we'll build our society in the vacant lots of the old and we'll do it by any means necessary."

b7D [REDACTED] Liberation
News Service, News Packet Number 215, dated December 3, 1969

On page 15 of this News Packet, there appears an article by the subject entitled "Violence and the Commuter Protest", which stated in part as follows:

"The swarm of people massed around the Washington Monument to protest the war in Vietnam left a lot to be desired. In size it was probably the same if not a bit less than the multitude that marched on the UN in the spring of 1967. If it proved anything, it proved that mass transportation was improving and people's consciousness about flying down to Washington to rally was about the same decision as to get on the subway and whiz up to Central Park. Our subways have grown wings."

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"The demands have not shifted in two years, the speakers have gotten considerably worse, and the music has taken a downward trend. Peter, Paul and Mitch (Mitch Miller) leading sing-a-longs (follow the bouncing Mitch) does not exactly convey the idea of cultural revolution.

"Seeing the Rolling Stones bang it out at the Amphitheater in Chicago the next night was more intense than the Washington Rally. There were also more fists flying in the air and one got the feeling that the revolution would come from the screechers at the Stones concert before it resounded from the ranks of the Mobe. Its dignity had earned it back the 'e' which hopefully it had lost at the Pentagon and in the streets of Chicago.

"It also made it easier for them to forget and abandon two of its own officials, Dave Dellinger and Rennie Davis, on trial for conspiracy in Chicago.

"Dellinger and Davis could be forgotten. Why not. Now the Mobe was on friendly terms with the Crematorium of Moritarium or whatever it is.

"The Moratorium is nothing more or less than a front for a 'Mogovernment',--a campaign for George McGovern for President in 1972. Their officers -- both the Mobe and the Moratorium--have an unhealthy look of permanence, sort of like a massive anti-war business, 'PEACE, INC.'

"Saturday morning, just hours before the March, saw so much mixing of people 'from the Hill' (as politicians and their flunkies are called in Washington) in the Mobe's Moratorium offices that it looked less like working from within and more like being within the within.

"It was as if the U.S.I.A. was arranging the props, the F.B.I. must have had a hand in the security. Two days before the event headlines appeared saying 'Peace Movement Not Communist-led, says FBI,' and officials in the Mobetorium-Moralization coalition breathed easier and seemed to thank God there was still a sense of decency left in J. Edgar Hoover.

"Was this in exchange for Mobe Marshals taking over the security of the city? From now on every yippie that goes to a mass demonstration if forewarned that the Mobe Marshals are paper pigs and should be regarded accordingly. Mobe paper pigs redirected people away from the Justice Department demonstration, assisted police at every opportunity and pointed out known 'troublemakers' in the crowd. They performed their role of paper pigs so well that they were singled out for praise by Nixon's chief doorman, Amerika's only non-elected mayor, 'Mayor Walter Washington of Washington, D.C.' a negrooo that makes Whitney Young look like Lumumba.

"The basic politics of the event were dissent. Over and over, the M-and-M-ers were to proclaim this: 'We do not march against America. We do not march against the system.'

"The commuter movement that went in and out of Washington with the respectability crowds reserve for the Rev. Billy Graham really didn't allow for much participation on the part of the audience. That the government does not heed large gatherings of dissenters has been apparent for the past six years, ever since the 1963 civil rights march and through the countless of Mobilizations held during the Vietnam War.

"The system in power not only can deal with such mobilizations, it can actually thrive on them. To quote Mayor Washington of Washington, 'Once again the government has reaffirmed its commitment to free speech.' Look how tolerant Amerika is! Let's give the system a chance.

"The huge crowd was about as effective as it looked, huddled at the base of the Phallus on the Potomac. It looked like, and was, a huge mess begging the president, the Pentagon, the State Department, all these war criminals... 'Just give peace a chaaaance...' Nixon will sing that tune within a year. It took LBJ two years after the 1963 march to announce, 'We shall overcome' to Congress, but everything gets geometrically speeded up in the World of Pop Politics.

"Nixon has the slickest Media Men in the country on his team. All those dissenters came to Washington, and it was Agnew, not Nixon that emerged the chief villain, it was peaceful D.C. Transit Buses that surrounded and protected the White House and not menacing Army Vehicles.

"Yippie Violence is different than Weatherman Violence. The Weathermen want to do hand-to-hand combat with pigs. So they pick the biggest and best known around, pick a random date for obscure reasons and an arena the way sportsmen would, and then go into battle. It might be termed Ghandian Violence for the element of purging guilty through bearing witness is quite apparent. Yippie Violence is unplanned. It is always spontaneous and dependant on the situation. Yippie Violence is directed against the system of the pigs, the institutions through which the Amerikan system gets its nourishment.

"The image of people pounding on the doors of the Justice Department with STOP THE TRIAL flags, of rocks being thrown through the windows of the building, the gassing of Attorney General Mitchell by his own troops, all this conveys spontaneous outrage felt. The weathermen would have done well to wait until Washington, but still violence in hand-to-hand struggle does not seem to be as effective and as readily understood or even as political as symbolic attacks on sanctuaries of power.

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"It does not have to always be violent, although it does always have to be disruptive. The image of 'business as usual' must be disturbed. The confrontation at the Pentagon was disruptive, even though the protesters never got into the building. It was disruptive as the action in Chicago.

"When myths are made, closure is provided by the viewer. One can do a front-flip 50 feet in front of the Federal Building in Chicago and by the next day it becomes done in the presence of the jury on top of the defense table, 23 floors above the sidewalk before an astonished, tyrannical judge.

"In Revolution for the Hell of It, I wrote that revolutionary theater is to use as much force as necessary, no more, no less. If you can create the circus atmosphere by doing acrobatics outside the building, by all means do it. However, be prepared to do that trick right on the judge's bench if need be.

"In Washington, people achieved the object of showing their outrage by throwing a few rocks through the Justice Department windows. The level and intensity of violence used should be carefully balanced in relationship to the desired effect and the risks involved. In language as well, the same principle of using only as much force as is necessary to create the desired effect is important. One should never get into a trap, as did say the Weathermen.

"Also the indictments of the government look rather foolish when people are put on trial for 'giving enemas'. That would be apparent to anyone who sat in on our Conspiracy trial in Chicago. The Mob (the 'e' doesn't fit the Chicago action) and the Yippies are equally guilty, but the Mob, even though their tone was less militant than the Yippies', were definitely more 'serious'--and serious means conviction and guilt. Words like staff, organization, marshals, fund-raising apparatus, coordinated planning sessions do not easily fit when applied to the Yippies. 'Serious' is a word that reflects the establishment; we should consider it verboten.

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"One aspect of the rising revolutionary youth culture is a new use of language. We talk like television commercials, non-linear images are run together in a haphazard way. The evidence of speeches used against us here in trial has all been translated by undercover agents. It is not the way we talk, not at all, for to reveal the exact way in which we speak would be devastating to the government's case. So although they have multiple-recordings of every speech, press conference and even phone calls, the government needs translators.

"Speaking in symbolic language is necessary to crack the word mush that the people in this country are exposed to daily.

"The word competition is fierce. For example, the average person in Amerika within a normal day is exposed to more than 1,600 commercials through a mass of billboards, television flashes and colorful spreads in magazines.

"People who wish to raise the revolutionary consciousness of youth are not the only ones aware of the need for strong imagery in their statements. Spiro Agnew refers to his own speeches as employing 'punchy language to create the visual impact desired'. George Wallace in his recent campaign for President was full of expressions like, 'If demonstrators lie down in front of my car, I'm gonna run 'em over.'

"This isn't even advocating self-defense violence such as that supported by the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Punchy language, it seems can only be used with impunity by the conspiracy in power. So as here in Chicago and probably again in Washington for Conspiracy Number II, we are tried for our language.

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"The language and imagery of our generation is on trial. The National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, like the National Mobilization Committee to Improve Our Highways, cannot relate to our language or our culture. No one associated with the Youth International Party will waste energy decrying the minimal, spontaneous violence that occurred in Washington. We do not indulge in apologetic language. We are not 'responsible'. Responsible, like 'serious', is in the lexicon of Administration and the Mobilization. Us freaks can't understand what you buttondown respectables are talking about. The gulf is wider and deeper now that the Washington Commuter Protest is over."

V. REVOLUTIONARY STATEMENT

"The Los Angeles FreePress", an underground newspaper published in Los Angeles, California, in its September 26, 1969 issue, on page 21, contains an article written by the subject entitled "Abbie Answers Ellen Sander, 'PETER TOWNSHEND---AdmiresHITLER ---'" wherein the subject, according to the newspaper, attempts to refute an article written by ELLEN SANDER entitled "Dear Abbie, Abbie Hoffman You're a Liar", which article supposedly appeared in the September 5, "FREEP".

In this article the subject states "I'm a pool-hustler that wants to overthrow the government of the United States".

APPENDIX

1.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense, NEWTON was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons q"
America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

1.

LIBERATION MAGAZINE

"Liberation" Magazine (LM) is self-described as an independent monthly with offices at 339 Lafayette Street, New York, New York. A "Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation" was published in the November, 1968 issue. It listed the Publisher and Editor of the magazine as DAVE DELLINGER. The circulation was given as 10,000.

The following comments appeared in a leaflet distributed by LM in May, 1968:

"Since its inception in 1956, Liberation has played an active and creative role in the growth of the new radicalism in the United States. From civil rights to black liberation, from 'ban the bomb' to the movement to end the war in Vietnam, Liberation has been vital. Its radical critique of American society and its emphasis on democratic and direct action against the inequalities and injustice of our present social structure have inspired radicals, young and old."

"In addition, Liberation will continue to carry articles and discussions written by and to community organizers, student and non-student activists, educators, economists and social scientists - of interest to anybody concerned with building a radical and nonviolent movement that will bring a fundamental change to the existing order."

67D [REDACTED] that during a speech in New York, New York, on May 10, 1968, DAVE DELLINGER identified himself as a pacifist. He stated it was necessary to abolish the cause of war, which was Capitalism. He advocated a Communist society and said, "I am a Communist," but further stated he was not a Soviet type Communist.

APPENDIX

1.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM

b7D
[REDACTED], that public forums are regularly held and sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in New York City on Friday evenings and are held at SWP headquarters, 873 Broadway, New York, New York. These are called Militant Labor Forums.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES
COMMITTEE, Formerly Known As
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" of December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., describes the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) as an organization whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It stated the ECLC was established in 1951, and "although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party."

"The New York Times" issue of April 1, 1968, contained an article reflecting the ECLC was changing its name to the National ECLC (NECLC) "to reflect our determination to develop a vital national civil liberties organization in all 50 states as rapidly as possible."

The "Newark Sunday News" of Newark, New Jersey, issue of April 20, 1969, contained an article showing the NECLC, of 25 East 26th Street, New York, New York, operates from its office an anti-war legal help organization for draft-age men, reservists and those on active duty.

APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP, which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by MILTON ROSEN and MORTIMER SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

670 [REDACTED] that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31, to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

[REDACTED] that at the Second National Convention, MILTON ROSEN was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and LEVI LAUB, FRED JEROME, JARED ISRAEL, WILLIAM EPTON, JACOB ROSEN, JEFFREY GORDON and WALTER LINDER were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution", a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio", a monthly newspaper.

The April, 1969, issue of "Challenge-Desafio", sets forth that "Challenge is dedicated to the peoples fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women control their own homes and factories; where they themselves make up the entire government on every level and control the schools, courts, police and all institutions which are now used to control them."

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

[REDACTED] that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of worldwide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both the NO forces and the PLP forces claim to be the true SDS. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding CASTRO's position that the duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution. Weatherman is regarded by RYM II as an adventurist, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although

APPENDIX

2.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (cont'd)

disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

67D [REDACTED] that the PLP faction, which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance, is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of the PLP is attached.

APPENDIX

1.

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

b7D [redacted] advised that on February 12, 1959, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group under the leadership of National Committee member SAM BALLAN, split from the SWP.

[redacted] that this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the Party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of LEON TROTSKY and retreating from the fight for the world Socialist revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved cooperation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery-individuals characterized by the minority as petty-bourgeois.

The minority program, according to the source, advocated unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and has as its goal the building of a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.

[redacted] that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

[redacted] advised that the Workers World Party, which maintains headquarters at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York, supports the People's Republic of China in its ideological dispute with the Soviet Union.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1.

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

[REDACTED]
that the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), formerly known as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, was established by the Workers World Party (WWP) in the summer of 1962, to bring college and high school youth into the periphery of WWP activities, and thereby gain recruits for the organization.

[REDACTED]
1964, that a flyer distributed by the YAWF describes that organization as a militant organization of young workers and worker-students for combating war and fascism.

[REDACTED] that the YAWF maintains its headquarters at 58 West 25th Street, New York City, and publishes a magazine called "The Partisan".

A characterization of the WWP is set out separately.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bufile 100-449923
NYfile 100-161445

January 13, 1970

Title Abbott Howard Hoffman

Character Security Matter - Anarchist

b7c Reference is made to report of Special Agent
[REDACTED] dated and captioned as above,
at New York, New York.

b7D [REDACTED]
All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449923)

FROM : *JH* SAC, NEW YORK (100-161445)(P)

SUBJECT: ABBOTT HOWARD HOFFMAN, aka
SM-ANA
(KEY ACTIVIST)
(OO: NEW YORK)

DATE: 1/26/70

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a book written by the subject entitled "Woodstock Nation".

The following comments are made concerning the enclosure:

"Woodstock Nation", published by Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, New York City, authored by ABBIE HOFFMAN, is described on its cover as a "Talk-Rock Album". We are also informed this epic was written in five days while its author was under the influence of various drugs. It appears that the book is another of HOFFMAN's "put-ons" for the manuscript is at best a disjointed, rambling mass of personal obscenity loosely concerned with the Woodstock Music Festival held during the summer of 1969. *AK*

Hoffman makes clear the "Woodstock Festival" which he describes as the "Woodstock Nation" constituted a clear warning to the American establishment that it is finished in every sense. Anything outside the "Woodstock Nation" is described as the "Pig Nation" on almost every page. HOFFMAN freely admits guilt of conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States (page 8), founding the Movement Speakers Bureau (Page 11), the use of drugs (page 11), support of the Black Panther Party (Page 75) and his own advocacy of revolution (Pages 57 and 77). It may be said, however, the ideas of revolution to "bring down the system" is prevalent throughout the entire text.

HOFFMAN's insane ramblings are broken somewhat by an outline for a "Hippy Movie" on page 59 which vilifies Mayor DALEY of Chicago, police in general and the "establishment" in particular.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)(RM)
2 - New York



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-29-82 BY SP8 BJS/STW

REC-95

100-449923-196

ENCLOSURE

15 JAN 27 1970

EX-112

67C

enclosure
918

NY 100-161445

Beginning on page 71, HOFFMAN boasts of his arrests for the 1968-69 period. His comments regarding the FBI - all bad or critical - are scattered throughout the text. (see pages 11, 56, 77, 114, 127 and 153).

Pages 115 through 117 sets forth what appear to be extracts from a Field Manual of the Army of the United States showing how to make several simple incendiary devices.

The book concludes with HOFFMAN's real and/or imaginary experiences while at the Woodstock Music Festival including a wild trip on "acid".

"Woodstock Nation" does not lend itself to a critical evaluation. It is typical ABBIE HOFFMAN - the real and unreal mixed together in a philosophic soup only HOFFMAN or his kind could appreciate.

UNITED STATES

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449923)

DATE: 1/30/70

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-48384) (P)

SUBJECT: ABBOTT HOWARD HOFFMAN
SM - ANA
(KEY ACTIVIST)
(OO:NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-29-82 BY SP5 RJB/PLC

67C
Rerep of SA [REDACTED] dated 1/13/70, at New York.

On 1/29/70, [REDACTED] Clerk's Office, D. C. Court of Appeals, advised SA [REDACTED] that according to the record in the case of the United States vs. ABBOTT HOFFMAN (Case Number 4865) the U. S. Court of Appeals on 12/2/69 granted an allowance of appeal on behalf of HOFFMAN by granting the petitioners petition to appeal and allowing the petitioners to file without the payment of any cost.

The record also disclosed that on 1/3/69 a certified copy of the record from the D. C. Court of Appeals was forwarded to the U. S. Court of Appeals, Washington, D. C.

On 1/30/70, [REDACTED] Clerk's Office, U. S. Court of Appeals, Washington, D. C., advised that a motion is now pending before that court in the case entitled "ABBIE HOFFMAN vs. the United States" (Docket Number 23514). [REDACTED] also stated that the petitioners have filed their Briefs before the court but that the record is not now available through the Clerk's Office because of the motion pending before the court.

REC 43

100-449923-147

HOFFMAN was convicted on 11/20/68 in the Court of General Sessions, Washington, D. C., on the charge of Defiling the American Flag by wearing a shirt resembling the American flag in which conviction was upheld by the D. C. Court of Appeals on 8/14/69.

2-Bureau
2-New York (100-161445) (RM)
1-WFO

5 JAN 30 1970



(5)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

WFO 100-48384

LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C. 1. Will continue to follow prosecutive action of case now pending before the U. S. Court of Appeals.

2. Will furnish a report on subject's activities in Washington, D. C., during the period of 11/14-15/69.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): This document, which is a carbon copy, has not been processed in this file. The ORIGINAL of this document is to be or has been processed in File HQ 176-1410-1214.

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages: HQ 100-449923-NR 11/29/70

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449923)

FROM : *MSK*, CHICAGO (100-45292)

SUBJECT: ABBOTT HOWARD HOFFMAN, aka
SM - ANA (KEY ACTIVIST)

DATE: 2/2/70

b7c

Re Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 1/13/70,
at New York.

On 1/29/70, [REDACTED] Criminal Records, First Municipal District Court, Civic Center, Chicago, advised SA [REDACTED] that his records reflected that after the conviction of HOFFMAN on 1/28/69, in Mass Arrest Court, Branch 47, Chicago, Judge KENNETH R. WENDT had granted until 6/30/69, for the submission of motions by the defendant. Further, that on 7/9/69, instant case was continued indefinitely, and that as of 1/29/70, no further action had been taken.

Chicago will continue to follow this matter and keep New York and the Bureau advised.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-29-82 BY SP8 RJS/STC

REC-28

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-161445) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

100-449923-199

FEB 4 1970

b7c
100 918
✓
SEC.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

X

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE

FBI MILWAUK

327PM 1/27/70 URGENT MAB

TO: BUREAU (100-449923) CHICAGO & NEW YORK (100-161445)

FROM: MILWAUKEE (100-16374) 2P

ABBIE HOFFMAN, SM - ANA. OO: NY.

ABBIE HOFFMAN SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY
(LU), APPLETON, VIA AIR WISCONSIN EIGHT PM, JANUARY
TWENTYEIGHT NEXT. HOFFMAN WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY A
BRITISH BROADCASTING COMPANY TV CREW WHO ARE FILMING
A SPECIAL ON HIM. HOFFMAN ALONG WITH BOBBY LEE AN
EX BLACK PANTHER, PREACHER MAN A WHITE MALE FROM
APPALACIA, ED DIAZ A YOUNG LORD MEMBER AND CLARK
KISSINGER PAST NATIONAL PRESIDENT, SDS. ALL WILL
APPEAR LU BETWEEN JANUARY TWENTYSEVEN AND TWENTYNINE
NEXT FOR PROGRAM SPONSORED BY THE URBAN STUDIES GROUP
AT LU.

END PAGE ONE

ENCLOSURE

57 FEB 12 1970

REC-64

EX-117

10 FEB 6 1970

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-27-82 BY 1388 JAC

PAGE TWO

HOFFMAN WILL BE STAYING AT THE GUEST HOUSE INN, APPLETON, UNDER AN ALIAS AND HAS INDICATED A DESIRE TO VISIT DECEASED SENATOR JOE MC CARTHY'S GRAVE FOLLOWING THE PROGRAM AS A PUBLICITY STUNT BY LU OFFICIALS NOT IN FAVOR OF THIS ACTION.

CROWDS ESTIMATED BETWEEN FOUR HUNDRED AND SIX HUNDRED STUDENTS FROM LU AND SURROUNDING COLLEGES EXPECTED TO ATTEND VARIOUS SESSIONS OF THE SYMPOSIUM.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES ADVISED.

MILWAUKEE WILL FOLLOW AND ADVISE BUREAU, CHICAGO AND NEW YORK OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

END

WJM

FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT IDIU

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : *J* SAC, MIAMI (105-18507)

SUBJECT: DEMTRI

DATE: 1/16/70

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

67D

defendant ABBIE KOFFMAN, had been booked by the Lecture Bureau of the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, to be a guest speaker on campus February 1, 1970. Rumors are that he will be accompanied by a second defendant who may be DAVID DELLINGER.

The above is furnished the Bureau and Chicago for their information.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1 GSK/MC
ON 11/9/84

Op. # 81-0382; 82-10130

1-29-82
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-3 JG/ste
REASON-FOIA II, 1-2.2.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-16-90

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Chicago
- 3 - Miami

(1 - 105-18507)

(100-)

(DAVID DELLINGER)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) UNCLASS
DATE 7/9/82

Note **67C**

Please CC in 100-449923

100-449923-692

REC 27

JAN 19 1970

1 cc 94D - (100-449923)

FEB 9 1970

2-3

CONFIDENTIAL

67C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

FBI

Date: 1/29/70

SEE REVERSE
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION
ACTION

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (176-48)

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS AT WASHINGTON D.C.
NOVEMBER 13-15, 1969
ARL
(OO:WFO)

100-449923-
NOT RECORDED
174 FEB 19 1970

ARTIE HOFFMAN

Re WFO teletype to Bureau and NYO, 1/20/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM and for WFO four copies of this LHM setting forth information concerning the demonstrations held in Washington D.C. on 11/13-15/69.

The "At Random" television program on 5/11,12,/68 was monitored by the Chicago Office.

Classified by SP-1 CSK/ML
Declassify on: OADR

2-Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
2-Washington Field (176-155) (Encls. 4) (RM)
1-New York

CLASS. & EXT.
REASON FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-29-90

(6)

ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE

176-2001-

17 JAN 30 1970

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

HQ 100-449923 dated 1/29/70 p. 2

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

January 29, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

NY 176-48

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Demonstrations at Washington D.C.
November 13-15, 1969
Antiriot Laws

67D



On the evenings of May 11, 12, 1968, the "At Random" television program was aired on the Columbia Broadcasting System Television (CBS-TV), Channel 2, Chicago, Illinois, with moderator, John Madigon. Among the participants on part two of these programs was Abbie Hoffman, who identified himself as a representative of the Youth International Party (YIP). During the ensuing discussion, Hoffman was asked if he was in favor of the overthrow of the United States Government by the moderator, and Hoffman replied that he was in favor of the overthrow of the United States Government by any means possible.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

100-449923-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Demonstrations at Washington D.C.
November 13-15, 1969

b7D

[REDACTED]

The CP, USA has been designed pursuant to
Executive Order 10451.

[REDACTED]

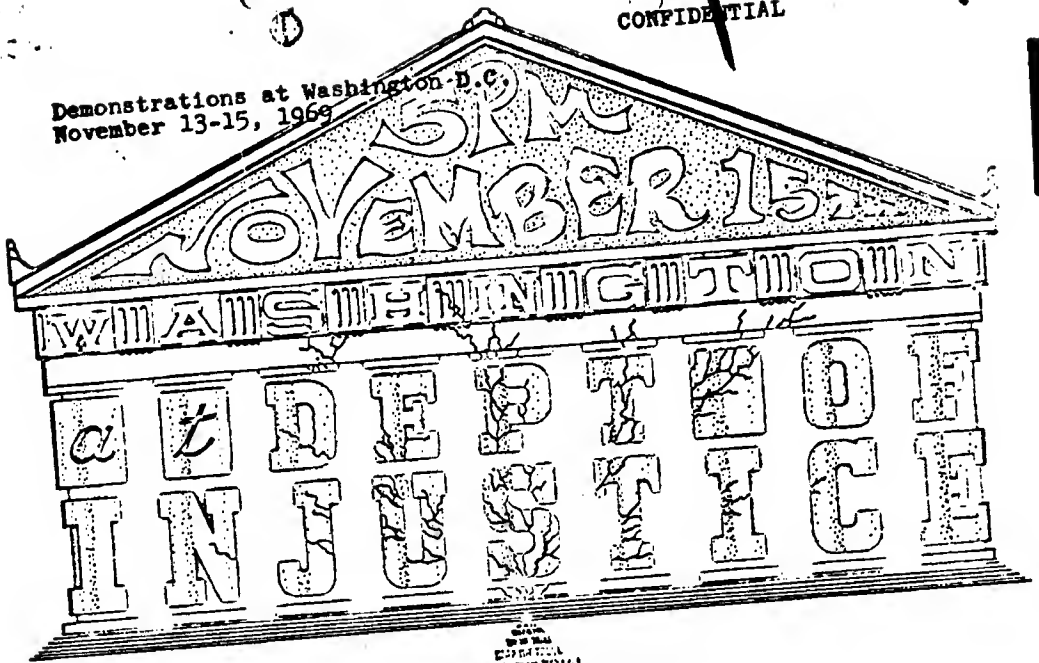
[REDACTED] that
a press conference was called by Abbie Hoffman and Jerry
Rubin on October 29, 1969 at 339 Lafayette Street, New York
City. Representatives from various organizations planning
to participate in the demonstration in Washington D.C. on
November 15, 1969 were present. Representatives from each
organization made statements in support of a march on the
Justice Department. The only statement that could be considered
subversive was made by one Jerry Lefcourt to the effect that
the three branches of the government were not serving the
people and "the people should seize power".

[REDACTED]
a leaflet announcing a demonstration at 5:00 PM on November 15,
1969 at the Department of "Injustice". A copy of this leaflet
is attached hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Demonstrations at Washington D.C.
November 13-15, 1969



STOP THE TRIAL
STOP THE TRIAL
STOP THE TRIAL

STOP THE TRIAL

STOP THE TRIAL

STOP THE TRIAL

STOP THE TRIAL
STOP THE TRIAL
STOP THE TRIAL

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SEE REVERSE
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION
ACTION

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

DATE: 2/20/70

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-16555) (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: POLITICAL REPRESSION CONFERENCE
AT CARNEGIE - MELLON UNIVERSITY,
AND UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH,
PITTSBURGH, PA.,
1/17/70
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

CLASS. & EXT. B.
REASON-FORM II,
DATE OF REVIEW.

Re Pittsburgh teletype to Bureau dated 1/18/70,
Pittsburgh airtel to Bureau dated 1/20/70, and Bureau letters
to Pittsburgh dated 2/3/70 and 2/13/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 13 copies of an LHM, captioned as above (Two copies for each of the Bufiles indicated below and five copies for possible dissemination at the Bureau). Also enclosed for the Bureau, under separate cover, are copies of the following tapes made at captioned conference:

- 9 - Bureau (Enc.-13) (RM)
 (3 - 100 - Political Repression Conference) (1-Package - RM)
 (2 - 100-449923 - ~~ABIE HOFFMAN~~) (Tape #2, Attention:
 Room 924, 9th and D)
 (2 - 176-1410 - DAVID TYRE DELLINGER, aka; ET AL)
 (2 - 157- - REGGIE SCHELL) (With Tapes 1 and 3)
 3 - ~~Chicago (176-5-Sub C) (Enc.-3) (RM)~~
 (1 - Package) (RM)
 2 - New York (100-161445) (Enc.-2) (RM)
 3 - Philadelphia (157-3932) (Enc.-2) (RM)
 (1 - Package) (RM)
 2 - Pittsburgh
 (1 - 176-4)
- DECLASSIFIED BY 3042 PWT/JS
 ON 5/24/85

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 5/24/77

(19)

Classified by SP-16SK/LIN
Declassify on: OADR
Ref: 81-0292: 82-1693

-ENCLOSURE

100-449723

NOT RECORDED
180 MAR 6 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5-11211 1970

ORIGINAL FILED TO

Tape Number One, which contains speeches by REGGIE SCHELL and ABBIE HOFFMAN. The tape contains all of SCHELL's speech, but only the first few minutes of HOFFMAN's speech. Overall quality of this tape recording is fair. (For Bufile 157- REGGIE SCHELL)

Tape Number Two, which contains a second recording of HOFFMAN's speech, which records all but the last few minutes of his speech. The tape ran out before HOFFMAN finished speaking. Overall quality of this tape is poor; however, some parts are good. (For Bufile 100-449923)

Tape Number Three, which contains a second recording of REGGIE SCHELL's speech and is of fair quality. (For Bufile 157 - REGGIE SCHELL)

It is noted that original recordings of tapes two and three were of such poor quality they could not be transcribed in their original condition. The FBI Laboratory reproduced these tapes and the reproductions are of better quality. It is also noted that the enclosed LHM contains FD-302s of transcriptions prepared by recording agents. These transcriptions are the best obtainable from these tapes.

67C
Enclosed for Chicago under separate cover are the originals of Tapes One and Two, and a reproduced copy of Tape Number Two. Enclosed herewith are three copies of LHM and the original FD-302 of transcription of HOFFMAN's speech. Attached to the FD-302 is a notarized statement by SA [REDACTED] that he has compared the transcription with the original recording and to the best of his ability it is an accurate representation of the original recording. In this regard, it is noted that parts of the transcription contains blanks where words were indistinguishable.

Neither the Pittsburgh FBI Office nor the USA's Office, Pittsburgh, Pa., has a notary public. Therefore, the statement was notarized by RICHARD D. CERCONE, a Notary Public with the Veterans Administration, Pittsburgh, who has been used on other occasions by the Pittsburgh FBI Office.

Enclosed for Philadelphia are two copies of LHM, and, under separate cover, one copy each of Tapes One and Three.

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Two copies of LHM are enclosed for New York, office of origin for HOFFMAN.

Copies of LHM were prepared for Army Intelligence, Secret Service, OSI, and USA, Pittsburgh, Pa., and NISO, Philadelphia, Pa.; however, no dissemination being made locally until authorized to do so by the Bureau because recordings were made by FBI agents with concealed recorders. Bureau authority is requested to disseminate locally to above agencies.

The LHM and Tapes One and Two are considered obscene because of the obscene statements made by HOFFMAN during his speech.

[REDACTED] b7D

Individuals and organizations mentioned in the LHM have been characterized where characterizations were available in the Pittsburgh Office.

[REDACTED] 7(X) u b7C
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
February 20, 1970

SEE REVERSE
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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POLITICAL REPRESSION CONFERENCE
AT CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY (C-MU)
AND UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH (UP),
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA,
JANUARY 17, 1970

67D

[REDACTED] that an all-day Political Repression Conference (PRC) would be held on January 17, 1970, at C-MU and the UP, Pittsburgh, Pa., sponsored by student groups from both campuses and New Left Movement organizations in the Pittsburgh area.

[REDACTED] that captioned conference started about 11:00 AM with a showing of various films on the New Left Movement; however, the actual conference did not start until about 1:00 PM at C-MU and was discontinued at that University about 5:20 PM. The conference, which was attended by approximately 1,000 persons, was orderly and there were no incidents connected with the conference. Conference activities consisted of films and speeches concerning Black Panthers, police power, prisons, and political repression.

[REDACTED] that at about 1:05 PM, January 17, 1970, the main program of the PRC at C-MU began with a speech by Gilbert Venable, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union. His main theme was the legality of political repression in the magistrate and criminal courts in Allegheny County. He stated

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GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

Classified by *SP-1 GSK/mc*
Declassify on: OADR

8/1-0502/82-1693

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DECLASSIFIED
ON *3/24/83*
3042 211/83


11-4-81
*CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP-1 GSK/mc**
12/4/82
2/22/90

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POLITICAL REPRESSION CONFERENCE
AT CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY (C-MU)
AND UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH (UP),
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA,
JANUARY 17, 1970

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that the entire police magistrate set-up is unconstitutional, but did not elaborate as to what reason makes this so. He further stated that the new administration is going to bring a more liberal atmosphere to Pittsburgh and the inequities of the former magistrate system will be eliminated. Venable then proceeded to go into the "McCarron Act" calling it "blazonly," un-American, and unconstitutional.

 hat the next speaker was Robert G. Colodny, Professor at the UP, who spoke of the historical aspects of political repression. He gave examples of political tyranny through the years and gave a very communist studied oratory of the poor black man's plight.







The JAFRC and the VALB have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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POLITICAL REPRESSION CONFERENCE
AT CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY (C-MU)
AND UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH (UP),
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA,
JANUARY 17, 1970

62D [REDACTED] that Colodny's speech was followed by a short question and answer period and the conference broke off into small workshop groups. The workshops consisted of the following:

1. Suppression of political views in the media and arts led by Charles Robb, Editor of the Pittsburgh "Point," a weekly Pittsburgh, Pa., newspaper.
2. A discussion of county-state- and Federal prisons led by Landrew Smith, ex-convict, lecturer, and expert on penal reform; Bob Shwitzer, a draft resistor, and his wife, Jane.
3. Discussion on local police led by R. Stanton Wettick, Executive Director of the Neighborhood Legal Services, Pittsburgh, Pa.
4. Political repression in the high schools discussed by Jenny Schneider and Gene Fellner, students from Taylor-Allderdice High School.
5. Discussion of new technology of repression led by Jim Holland, a Professor at the UP, and Jim Fisher, a purported steel worker.

The May 4, 1968, issue of "The Pittsburgh Press," a daily newspaper published at Pittsburgh, Pa., carried an article noting that a group of people from Pittsburgh were trying to launch a Mid-West edition of the Communist newspaper, "The Worker." It noted that among the sponsors was Dr. James G. Holland, who has been assisting young men to resist the draft.

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PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA,
JANUARY 17, 1970

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6. The extermination of Black Panthers was discussed by Claude Allen, Professor from Point Park College, Pittsburgh. The main attraction at this workshop was a surprise appearance of Reggie Schell of the Black Panther Party (BPP). He presented a thirty-minute tirade against the pigs of America which was a typical stereotyped Panther speech. Schell ended the C-MU portions of the conference by telling everyone to arm themselves for the revolution.
- [REDACTED] u
- [REDACTED] u

b7D [REDACTED] u

[REDACTED] that captioned conference reconvened at the Common Facilities Building, UP, at about 7:30 PM, January 17, 1970, with about 1,500 in attendance. The activities consisted of speeches by David Owens, Professor at UP, Reggie Schell, Captain of the BPP at Philadelphia, Pa., and Abbott, also known as Abbie, Hoffman, one of the defendants in the Chicago Conspiracy Trial. The activities were orderly and there were no incidents.

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POLITICAL REPRESSION CONFERENCE
AT CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY (C-MU)
AND UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH (UP),
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA,
JANUARY 17, 1970

[REDACTED] 670

The RNA is characterized in an
attachment hereto.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that activities
at the UP were scheduled to begin at 7:30 PM; however, it was
7:45 PM before the first speaker, David Owens, Professor at
the UP, was introduced. The audience by that time numbered
approximately 1500 being divided evenly between male and female
and approximately 200 to 250 of total being black. The
majority of the audience was between the ages of 18 and 25
years.

Owens' speech touched on two main points of interest.
The first warned liberal whites and militant black elements
of the City of Pittsburgh not to be fooled by the dismissal
of James W. Slusser as Superintendent of Police because the
new man, Steve Joyce, is different in name only and the white
racist police policy will be continued. Owens' second point
was that blacks and white liberals should become involved
and form their own network of intelligence units. He stated
now is the time to become involved and to take action. They
must infiltrate everywhere possible. They must get inside
and destroy from within this decadent society. His parting
remark was "My side will win - be on it."

670 [REDACTED] that Reggie Schell of the Black Panther
Party out of Philadelphia, Pa., followed Owens as speaker.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 1/22/70

1

On January 17, 1970, REGGIE SCHELL, Captain, Black Panther Party, Philadelphia, Pa., appeared and made a speech at the "Political Repression Conference," in the Common Facilities Building, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The following is a transcript of SCHELL's speech:

"I want to start off by saying the silent majority have found that the people have the power, all power to the people. I'm going to say to the pigs and to the ones who came in here to report on what I'm talking about can report back to Hoover that his mama's a pig, too. At this point in the peoples' struggle, the stuffs getting pretty deep and we're still not free. I'm sent here tonight or I'm supposed to come here tonight to talk about repression. I looked up 'repression' in the dictionary and this is what it said: 'Put down, subdue, crush, keep under due restraint.' Any black man or any black woman can tell you about that. So, I'm gonna get off into fascism. This is

don't like to hear but it is here. Fascism is white man's capital. Fascism is suppression of opposition, political opposition and before I go into that I just wanna read something to you from an article from Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton: 'When white people send a representative into the political arena, they have a power force base that they represent. When white people through their representative can not say what they want, there's bound to be political consequence. This is evident in fact of the farmers don't get, are not given adequate prices for their crops the economy will be free of political consequence. They will let their crops rot in the field, and they will not cooperate with other sectors of the economy. To be political you must have political consequences, when you do not receive your desires otherwise you're not political. Black people are

On 1/17/70 at Pittsburgh, Pa. File # Pittsburgh 100-16555
by SA [redacted] and [redacted] **67C**
SA [redacted] jsk Date dictated 1/20/70

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"not political in this country because they don't represent any type of force that can inflict political consequence upon the power structure here, and I don't even like to use the word power structure. It's a weak structure. Power belongs to the people and not to those pigs out in Washington. There's black people and the only kind of force that black people can mount in this country is military force. We have thirty million, or thirty-two, or thirty-five million people here, and the only kind of force that they can or consequence that they can inflict on the Government in this society is military. They can make it unprofitable for this society to go around and intimidate and exploit people here. The very fact that this room is filled with students - I don't know if all you people come from the University of Pittsburgh or where. Wherever you come from, the fact remains that the room is filled. You probably know that there is something wrong with this society. We believe that injustice is a thing where you just want to use your own terminology as the terms repression and fascism. It's like I stated earlier, fascism means nothing but repression or suppression of opposition. I want to take a brief detailed look at Gestapo tactics interest

and tactics that's been used today in Babylon as Eldridge calls it. Gestapo in 1939, in the 1930s, there were hundreds of thousands of men and women who were hounded by this police force operating under the guise of under cover of social necessity and a lot of people do not understand that because you're students of politics or whatever it is. Today, thousands, tens of thousands of men and women, both black and white, are being hounded and branded and labelled as subversives or violators of the power structure or the police forces of this power structure under the guise of law and order. So there is a clear line that indicates that fascism is here. The Gestapo also

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"used to shoot off raids when they awake at four or five o'clock in the morning and then go into Jewish peoples' homes and either kill them or snatch them off and rip them off, kidnap them to these concentration camps where they would be set up on this mass extermination. You see it, more about it in Chicago and more about it in L. A. This is the only type raids that the police forces or the pig forces in this country have implemented on the Black Panther Party. If a man has a warrant for my arrest, he can come up here and pluck me right off this stage. There's no need to ever have to come around, sneaking around my house at four or five o'clock in the morning armed to the gills. In Hitler's Germany, he set up a massive disguise or cordon of men who could manipulate and dupe the people by feeding them with misinformation. In other words, the Gestapo controlled the mass news media. And if you've been listening to that old dumb idiot, you know who I'm talking about, I don't even have to call his name out. Running around here talking about the mass news media and the press. The Gestapo also used in Germany terror, murder, brutality on the Jewish community, and all those who were in sympathy with the Jewish people. And if you can't see that relationship in terms of the black community, either you're a liar to yourself or you're a pig. Hitler's repression displayed to the world what takes place when a Governmental body ceases to act in the interest of the people and acknowledges only the historic of the staunch ruling class. In other words, that's just merely saying that people entrusted power to Hitler, it was the _____, it was the good people in Germany that put him in power. It's the good people in this country that stand by watching while Hampton dies or watching while this circus going on in Chicago continues, watching while Bobby Seale was ripped up off the street and watching while he was kidnaped and extradited to Connecticut to be tried on a trumped up charge of murder. It's not the pig that allows this to happen. It's the good people in this country or the so-called good people

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"because they been lied to. They are lied to by the mass news media. The mass news media is just like that hunky program that they showed about the Black Panther Party called 'Sixty Minutes.' They probably spent hours taping a session with Eldridge Cleaver. They probably spent hours taping that session with Chief of Staff David Hilliard, and what the American people saw was that they projected them to be, what they projected us to be to the people and that's all we talk about - violence, killing, guns, and it's just like it was said - we don't have to lie about it, we have guns and we advocate that every man, woman, and child in this country have a gun because the only one that wants people unarmed is the fool. And it's just like Huey Newton said, 'Unarmed people are slaves subject to slavery at a given moment. That's just how we feel about that. The power and weapons have been entrusted to Government and people are unarmed just like what I said. In Hitler's Germany, the people entrusted their power, and their arms and they just left that up to the Government. They let the Government disarm them and the same thing is happening right here in America. You people out there sitting by listening to and watching as the pigs project us as gun-toting black crazy old niggers in the street. But that's not the case. Huey P. Newton set the standard. It's our right, it's our constitutional right, it's your constitutional right to own a gun. Your rights are being violated. Not just ours, it's yours too. So how can we be made to believe that when America is the octopus of imperialism, the tentacles that spread all over the world slaughtering people in the name of peace. The only country in the world that has a foothold in all foreign countries attempts to spread a policy manifested in idle rhetoric that they fear outside attack. They try to tell you the Vietnamese people represent a threat. Those people are 10,000 miles away, they don't have an army, they don't have an air force, they don't have a navy, and yet you sit back here and you just remain

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"complacent and apathetic to those peoples' struggle over time. Those people are being bombed by millions of tons of bombs everyday under the guise of preventing communism from taking this country. You know it. You know it's a lie. You people should be out there tearing this country apart. You should be taking that Pentagon down brick by brick and just like Eldridge said, 'If the folks living at Song My had been armed, they wouldn't have been massacred like they were' and this is the same thing that we advocate in the black communities for all oppressed people in this country. We say, 'Arm yourself or harm yourself.' We're not advocating that you pick up a gun and run into the street like a mad maniac or a kill crazy maniac, but have a gun, know what that weapon can do, and be prepared to use it in your defense in the defense of your community and in the defense of the people that come from your neighborhood. That's all. You see, the pigs in this country are armed to the gills

or you can call yourself passive or you can call yourself a liberal and you say that you can't become involved in this struggle because you can't be violent with your Government. What you should be doing is going down to Harrisburg or going to Washington, D. C., and just like whoever was it who made the statement telling the United States to have all the marines sing, 'We Shall Overcome' in Vietnam instead of walking around with M-16s, poisonous gas, and those napalm bombs and flame throwers over there. Those pacifists will tell you that you should follow this line all the ways down the line. Don't come tell Panthers, don't come tell black people in the black community and don't tell anybody not to carry guns as long as you've got those fat funky pigs out there murdering and terrorizing the people. Repression can only come about when the people in the country or in the community are apathetic in that community or country, are complacent about the things that they have such as white so-called middle-class

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"bourgeoise people. There's no such thing as a middle class, you're nothing but a tool, that's all you are, you're a poor person which you just have just a little bit more but you'll never be able to infiltrate into the ruling class cause that's already set up. It's set up by the DuPonts and the Mellons and the Kennedys. I imagine half of those are pigs and the other half is filled with a people who want to come here, hear a Panther get up and curse, scream, talk about guns, talk about violence. Well, I'm trying not to curse, but you know and as for the pigs, you already got your message so you can split. You can get hung up on things like patriotism or Americanism. There are terms that go back to white or middle class people or white bourgeoisie people. They tell you the same thing that Hitler told his people or his propaganda chief in Germany that they were a super race and that the Germans were far superior than Jews, of the Jews, or that the Jews were inferior and criminals and all this other kind of rhetoric and the white people in this country get hung up on the same thing or they get hung up on. You can just look around. Everytime you turn around you see a flag on something, you see flags on windows, flags on cars. Nixon and them know, the ruling class knows that people lost faith in this Government. People in this country know that this Government is no longer responsible to the people. People are about ready to tear the god-damn place up. I'm not gonna stand up here and just bore you with things that you've heard on presses, the speeches that you've read in the paper because you know this is the only reason that you're here. The only thing that I'm gonna say to you, that I want to say to you is that the contribution you can make is to get up off your butts and go on out there in the community, these white neighborhood information centers so you can tell these white workers up here about racism, you can tell these white workers up here about racism _____

the Kennedys, the Mellons, or this group _____.

"You see because the Vietnamese are suffering and white people are suffering here and black people are suffering here and we don't even want to sit down and try to get some type of rapport that can put an end to our trouble. And what you white people should be doing

This crap that went on in Pittsburgh and what you students and you students should know is you are only on this campus for eight hours a day, eight hours a day, the other sixteen you're off in that community and anything that affects that community affects you. If you're not prepared to deal on that level, then you shouldn't be here and you shouldn't even be in that community.

All that you know about the death of Fred Hampton. I'm not gonna tell you about repression. Black people already know. You know about the death of Fred Hampton, you know about the deaths of Mark Clark, Bobby Hutton, he was in prison. You know about the New York. All of this, you know it all. Now the time is people begin to do one thing and that's to pick up that gun.

I'm saying this particularly to you when you see the Gestapo moving into your community, knocking out black peoples' eyes or pulling out .38 specials or 357 magnums that can tear a hole in the bodies of ten men lying back to back, then what you should be doing is getting some 12 gauge shotguns, getting up in your window and start running those pigs on out of your community.

lot of these students hear, lot of these white students here to get into some type of action because it's time now for the people in this country to start drawing the line of demarcation, either you support the pigs or you support the people. We just want to know where you're coming from cause we don't wanna be the judge and the jury. These black people up here should be setting up the information centers right along with white people and be working with them. I look around this audience and I see black people, I see white people, but I know that above all we should have cause. And you know that I have a feeling

"that

That's how bad it is. You white students like to sit around and listen to people talk and listen to people rant about racism and about revolutions, so you better go _____, next to you or sitting next to you _____ should be checking it out. You should be moving by now, you should be forced into some type of action, cause the people in this country don't have that much more time. There's not that much more time left before these pigs are _____ concentration camps. I got a letter today and it's something the State Department had picked up. It was pertaining to _____ and they had already gotten incarcerated or imprisoned and you know all of this is something for the people in this country to start thinking about. You didn't send them to Vietnam and you can't bring them home. The only thing that you can do is to force the pigs, the Mellons, the Kennedys, the DuPonts, and the rest of those pigs in power to move fast in this country and start changing their direction.

_____ because it's like I said, black people are not going to take this entire struggle upon themselves. They got to be free. There is no in between. Black men are going to struggle towards manhood or this country is going to come apart at the seams. There is no in between. White people are going to have to start taking sides. They're going to have to be choosing between what they support and what they oppose, and I'm not gonna come to you with sugar-coated words or anything like that. I'm saying that we don't have that much more time. _____ The attitude of the people _____ complacence _____ Fred Hampton murder. We got donations, we got signatures of support. I'm just wondering where that support will be a year from now. I wonder where that support will be when the pigs come down and start shooting the panthers in Philadelphia and shooting panthers in Chicago. A lot of people don't even realize that they killed another panther in Chicago and you don't even care, because it wasn't blown out of proportion.

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"That's all you wait for, the mass media to blow things out of proportion. People are dying everyday in this country and you should start mobilizing on the campuses

There is some hang-up between the students here and the administration here and run those pigs right on out because that's the only way we can do it. You're going to have to form a broadbase coalition of the students in the community, white and black, with all minority groups in this country, and I'm not going to sit up, I'm about ready to sit down. I've been talking and I don't know if any of you were over in the other building, but more or less a heated argument between me and a brother over there. In terms of he said we were leading people into suicide. We were leading black people in this world to suicide. We were leading black people in this world to suicide and a suicidal struggle and I wanna clarify one thing, Black Panther Party vows on the needs and aspirations of the people. We will never ask people to pick up a gun unless we feel that it is necessary for their own salvation, or it's necessary for their own liberation. We never, but I just want to clear that up.

Okay, well, I'm gonna turn it over to Abby Hoffman cause I know he got a lot to talk about on the problem."

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JANUARY 17, 1970

67D

[REDACTED] that Schell was followed by
Abbott Hoffman, who was considered to be the main speaker.
It was announced that Rennie Davis, another of the defendants
in the Chicago Conspiracy Trial was to have appeared as a
speaker at the conference, but he was scheduled to take the
stand in Chicago on Monday, January 19, in the conspiracy
trials; therefore, Hoffman came as a substitute.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/22/70

Date

1

On January 17, 1970, ABBOTT HOFFMAN, one of seven defendants currently on trial in Federal Court in Chicago, Illinois, appeared and made a speech at the "Political Repression Conference," at the Common Facilities Building, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. The following is a transcript of HOFFMAN's speech:

"Actually, my name is Johnny Cash. It's a pleasure to speak to the inmates at the Pittsburgh Penitentiary here. I'm riding in about a month and a half cause the seven is going to be moving over to Leavenworth. You try to get him to come here and do a free concert. We'd appreciate that. Also send us a book on tunnels. We don't plan to stay in too long. You shouldn't clap so much. The wind's blowing this way. I might get it. I'm sorry. I didn't mean to put you down like that. Ronnie was sorry he couldn't come. He has to bone up because he's about to take the witness stand on one or two days. I took the stand and it's a very unusual trial because you're not able to say too much from the witness stand. They call it self-serving statements. There's a thing that, see, once you've said that you're not guilty, you can't say it any more because that goes towards your defense or something like that. It's a very unusual trial. Actually, everybody in this room is on trial along with us. It's the first time the Federal government, it's the first time the Federal government has decided to legislate against a state of mind and it was a law, from Thurmond's tribute to Martin Luther King. It was passed in about two and one-half hours and sent on to the last president, I forget his name. I ain't too political but (uh) he used to drink a lot, pick up dogs by the ears, and shit like that. Anyway, they passed this law. It's the Civil Rights Act, which in 1934, fascism, you get to

On 1/17/70 at Pittsburgh, Pa. File # Pittsburgh 100-16555
by SAs [redacted] and Jsk 67C Date dictated 1/20/70

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"know that if you are a civil rights worker or a political activist or cultural revolutionary or involved in the black liberation struggle, you get to go to prison under the Civil Rights Act. All of a sudden, one day, April 12, 1968, everything that people have been doing for four months telling people to come to Chicago, all of a sudden on that day, it became illegal and people sometimes think that we're on trial for kicking pigs or spitting on the sidewalk or threatening to kill (uh). I don't know how many of them were there. Daley, all those other people. We ain't charged with any of that stuff. We're charged with crossing state lines with the intention to incite a riot and a riot is definedly an act or threat of violence by one or more people in a crowd of three or more. Probably it's already happened here about sixteen times and you wouldn't know it cause it's very (uh), it's a conspiracy after all. You know - secret. Secondly, secondly (uh), conspiracy, you have it in your heads watch all those World War II movies. Conspiracy's something you sit in a dark closet with a candle and you go psst, psst, psst. You know, and you look at all those blueprints and then you figure it out. The (uh) night before we were arraigned last April, a year after, almost a year after Chicago happened, we were introduced to each other for the first time. Many of us hadn't met each other, but that's (uh), that's the nature of conspiracy. But we had Dave Dellinger, a pacifist, if you're an antiwar movement, it's good to have at least one of them. We got Doctor John Froines, from Eugene, Oregon, a chemist. You can bet your ass you gotta have a fuckin chemist. Rennie Davis, we got him in a trade with Hanoi Rose. He's a Rennie's the closest thing we got to an American. It was at a 4-H club. Tom Hayden, Berkeley, Jerry Rubin, I met him. Lee Weiner, he happened to stroll in the park, got thrown in, they had to have a local guy from Chicago, and then, course, there was Bobby Seale. That was the most surprised of

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"All, Bobby Seale didn't know (uh) till the day before he came to Chicago, that he was actually coming. The evidence against Bobby Seale was three lines out of a fifteen minute speech he gave in Lincoln Park one night and an airplane ticket showed he crossed state lines. That was more evidence than against some of the defendants. But you start to learn if you plow into this case that evidence is not what this case is about, and Bobby Seale was in there for a very important reason, because in order to attack a broad range protest movement, black liberation struggle just couldn't be left out, you had to have one of them. They didn't have a woman, and we were kind of disappointed, so (uh) you know (uh) it wasn't our fault. I mean I know about male chauvinism and all that shit. You can blame it on Attorney General Mitchell. I been trying to get into women's liberation for over a year cause that's where the girls are. I just love that. Can't. Let's get back to the movies. You're thinking kid, you never know where it's coming from. Bobby Seale said in his speech, 'let me talk to you agents out there. Like they have those speeches, like right here, this speech is being recorded by a number of FBI agents. We found out at the trial that the closer you get to Washington, D. C., the more FBI agents are in the room, and Pittsburgh is not too far so there are probably about five or six FBI agents here. As a matter of fact, they don't need them because live testimony has been subpoenaed evidence from underground newsmen but they's underground. Actually, they're just undercover informants. Regular newsmen, like this guy in San Diego. He was an editor of a television news station there, had been an FBI informant for the past three years, code name Cairo. about a book I read Louis Goldsberg of the justice of the peace in New York. His code name was

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"Winston. They all have these code names, just like (uh) from all those old movies in the 1940's. You know, I was a communist for the FBI, and that sort of stuff. I should do it, it's my duty to my country. I was once on Lexington Avenue and 125th Street and I saw the United States flag with a corner touching the ground and I also saw a red flag with a hammer and sickle and I decided then that I should save my country. You also believe in wide seat belts. I came here to give heavy testimony like, yes (uh), Tom Hayden spoke to a meeting of the Resistance. Does the Resistance believe in violence? Yes. What kind of violence? One of their members advocated handcuffing himself to a fence. Violence, violence, at the trial violence is synonymous with everything that doesn't like and since this is the most violent fuckin country in the world it sees everything going on as violent. So, homosexuality, obscenities, I mean (uh), fuckin is about equal to license practice. They presented against us 57 Government witnesses, not one of whom is what you'd call people. I mean they had something like 32 Chicago policemen, 15 FBI agents, two Army Intelligence officers, three guys from Secret Service, and a guy from Naval Intelligence, and all these were just some of the faces of the intelligence gathering in Chicago. It was maybe the along with a number of undercover informants, but they all, and I'll tell you, they have informants. You would know them right off if you were talking to them. I mean they ain't Tiny Tim, unless they wear wigs, they're not going to go out to 28th and Cicero. I don't know that the place is around here where the Neanderthals all hang out. They're not going to go play golf or go to the American Legion clubs with hair this long - they're not going to do it. They look like if you've, if you've seen old movies like grade B Hollywood movies with high school kids necking in the back of like _____

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"That's the way these undercover agents look. All are over 6'5" and weigh 240 pounds. They all have these weird sideburns and the weird glasses. You know. Gee, I hope this has been a groovin' here killing pigs, and they ought to

Furthermore, the Government tries to these witnesses and who told and fabricated a story about what happened in Chicago - or what happened at Chicago, because Chicago, since that time and because of five or ten thousand brave young people were ready to risk a threat of death to get their politics up into the street where the decisions are made in this country. Well, Chicago, is an event in time and space and not a place and (uh), you think about that, you go around the country and people say were you in Chicago, they don't mean were you swimming in Lake Michigan. You know what I mean. They mean a certain event and it's because of that event and what happened that there's no political party that's going to hold a convention in a major city in a pig empire for the rest of the future, I mean (uh) you just think about it for a while. The Republican Party is never going to have a convention in Pittsburgh. They're never going to have a convention in Washington, Atlantic City, or New York. The only place they are going to be allowed to have a convention is in Hawaii, which is the center of the military empire. You think about it. Because of how this country has moved eastward into Asia, into Southeast Asia, Hawaii is where all political conventions are going to be, they'll be broadcast via remote control television to the rest of the people. That's kind of a very subtle fascism, where you can't go and exert what you want to say at the point at which decisions are being made. You see, everybody goes down my street at the commuter protest down near the phallic on the Potomac there - that gigantic monument. There's a law in Washington by the way, that you can't build any structure higher than that monument. You come up all kinds of Freudian symbolism.

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"They want to give Washington a clear shot at the world. There's some colored guys who wished that old lady Martha used a diaphragm. But anyway, all you students and people coming down here are saying

stronger than a prehistoric moratorium, yeh, you keep the chair. Well I gave her a chair and she kicked me in the nuts. You keep the chair, you keep the chair for a while. Peace is beautiful, why not. There are different kinds of peace though, like a lion who walked into a clearing and a lamb was drinking some of the water and he goes up to the lamb and taps him on the shoulder and gobbles him up. That kept the peace. There's peace. There's some people that (uh) want that kind of peace and there's John Lennon who (uh). Well, some people say we look alike, look, I know, just because I know we all look alike, but we don't think alike. I saw a quote from him. He's having another big peace festival up in another country up there in Canada and so you like Canada. I said (uh), he's gonna hold peace stations. He's gonna hold the whole peace empire. He's gonna build up with like doing promos for radio stations. Times they call them. Rock fizzes and he said that (uh) his general objection to politics in the modern day was to put a little peace in it every once in a while. Where would old Charlie Manson be? You don't like him, uh? You must have not looked at that cover of Life Magazine with his eyes like this. I did, one day in court I was just staring at those eyes and all of a sudden I jumped up and I yelled, Judge baby, he hypnotized me. It's ridiculous.

to overthrow the Government. Just like in the movies.

Naturally not being interested in politics but only in cultural revolution. I ain't too interested in seeing that movie. In fact you can get front row seats. Well, when the trial goes on, they present, I can give you an idea of the kind of evidence they present to show how confusing it is in that room on the 23rd floor

"downtown Daleyland, Chicago, Illinois. They got, they were playing a movie once. They were ending up their case (uh). They bring a lot of movies and it was Dave Dellinger and a lot of people sitting around like they are here and he's in front, cool it, cool it, cool it, peace bums, cool it, cool it, cool it. It was a 20-second movie. The whole staff argued over it and the District Attorney came up and said, like, hey, like it was a beautiful day at the movies. He said, hey, what happened? I said nothing man, hey, nothing, nothing happened. It all went like that in their whole case with no support, evidence, and then we came on and we thought it was such a puffed up charge we decided to give them a little chance at those so we brought Mayor Daley in, you know, a key witness in our defense, can you imagine it? And he told them how we're just a bunch of flower children and we brought on a full range of people who commented about the issues that were brought up in Chicago. What happened in Chicago, from a variety of viewpoints, many of which were gonna hurt. We had a pacifist like Mrs. _____ who had come to Chicago seeing what happened, came back to Berkeley, and now spends her time practicing with an M-1 rifle and karati, who believes not that a violent revolution is the only way to change this structure. She comes on and wraps that all up for the jury there are liberals that she (uh), what's that about? Our whole thing is on trial, the whole broad spectrum, and we intend to _____ and it's all coming out and it's all going to hang out _____
meditating in front of an altar of Che Guevara _____ going to tie
ice cubes on our bare feet and run around with a five number can of _____. Allen Ginsberg's plan to have anal intercourse Hubert Humphrey. If you don't mind, I don't mind. After about four and a half months of this, the jury is not to take an interest. First of all, they're not even to have notes. I mean (uh), their mail is censored. They're not allowed to talk on the phone with anybody unless the marshal is present, they can only

"go to special movies that don't have anything to do with anything like

_____ . They take them in a little yellow school bus and show the movies after hours. If they want to screw, they have to do it in front of a U. S. Marshal. They must be used to it by now. They're pretty locked up.

_____ We told them for a hundred grand we'd forget the whole thing. Now then, one reason we do that is that all of the things you read about, the birthday cake for Bobby, what happened with him, and the way he relates to the jury and the judge; he got four years for contempt for demanding the right to defend himself. That's what it's about. We'll get into that later in the questioning period, the answer period, whatever you got, it won't take long to answer. But personal pride, we are taking a very personal interest because we believe politics is that you wear inside your belt. It's what you bring into the court room, that you do with your everyday life, and you gotta project out to every person because there ain't nothing but the fuckin jury. It ain't nothing for the people of Chicago to see getting those fuckers out of here. See, but if you could somehow convince them that you're one of the, you're a friend or something, you make them laugh or something - you have humor

_____ . Oh, yeh, man, they should send those people up for ten years, yeh, I kinda miss them. We're the local favorites in Chicago. The Cubs lost like that in the world series

_____ . We're the home team. It's good to be home. Holy shit, man, what are you saying? They're like fuckin outside agitators. They're corrupting your whole thinking. We say no, we're the Chicago Conspiracy, and we're playing the Washington Kangaroos.

_____ and secondly, we have the troubled minds because we have two aims, one is to de-legitimize _____ by the courts in the institution of authority in America. That's a heavy task that has to be accomplished because a lot of people who are into anything are going to

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"be in the courts for a hell of a long fuckin time in the next two or three years. So you have to de-legitimize that court as an institution. A number of people have come by and said to us, 'Why don't you cut up more or something or why ain't the trial ended when Bobby was cut off?' First of all, Bobby didn't want that. He didn't even want us cutting up _____ then we all got two or three years for contempt already. I don't know if the people get that impression from reading the newspaper, but there's no way out of that. I mean _____ two lawyers going to jail from two or three years for contempt on this charge, on this case, okay. We ain't just gonna take that lying down, just watch the lawyers mobilize the whole _____, a whole study done because contempt is a _____ vast security of the courts. The judge that loses - that's his power. He sentenced Bobby Scale to four yrs in prison in a very peculiar way, unique way, that I don't think the people understand. He gave him 15 sentences of three months each. See, and three months each is less than six months, so he can't have a jury trial, and also, it's very difficult to appeal because the basis of the appeal has to be on the constitutional issue or whether or not you can give concurrent sentences, and that's really a forty - what the U. S. Government report can't figure out is whether four years is four years or sixteen times three months. Well, it always works out. I mean _____. Lonnie Bruce said that there's no justice found in the Hall of Justice, the only justice is found in the hall. We've learned that if you ever get involved, the courts analyze their role in America and the fact that they keep the people in power, in power, and _____ we people they don't want _____ and this is a political conference on repression, I don't know _____.

"So we want to de-legitimize the authority cause there's always a _____ of our power, the power of the people and the Powers of the 1970s and the future. Forget the power of the 1950s and the attempt to bring that power back and the authority that it represents and we have to regard that constantly as the illegitimate authority and constantly go on the offense. That's why nobody changes the way they dress, nobody changes the way they talk, the way they carry on in the courtroom offensive. Never recognize this authority as legitimate. Now _____ you'd swear we rigged this fuckin judge. I mean they make movies out of it. They been looking up all over the country for the past three months and they can't find another one like him. _____ he's beyond the generation gap. This guy, he's about 75 years old. His last 44 jury trials will give you some idea of what we're up against. Never mind the laws, never mind the prosecutor betting their political careers on this, never mind the computer in Washington and the FBI agents who have a special key and goes out and it's a real fright when you think about it - this fuckin problem. Every time a witness comes on and gives his name and address there's an FBI agent who, first of all _____ from the first week. He can't understand _____. Anyway it goes like this: _____ ten he just yawns a little _____ and gets out a little gold ring, a key, and kinda outside the room and out the door and down to the 15th floor there's a special crew assembled and they write down the information who that witness is. Write to Washington and in five or ten minutes, he slips back onto the room carrying a little brown folder like this, just sneaking in along the side. If you see this guy, you just sit there. You wouldn't even know - this is the

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"most frightening thing about the trial. He hits on three out of four witnesses whether they're factory workers or chairmen of a law school in Los Angeles, whether it's a rock singer. No matter who it is, he hits on three out of four witnesses and they got folders on everybody. So, also I forgot about the other thing our aim is and this is heavy because political trials - this is very difficult to understand. I mean, we'll come in and there will be legal experts who will come in.

This is the greatest trial since Socrates. It's the most important since Jesus. I'll say, hey man, do you know any winners? Win, I mean win, win the fuckin case and to win and to win it this fuckin jury and this jury comes from suburban Illinois, the average age is 54 on the jury and first off, we came because we didn't consider a political convention through the electoral process as democratic or seeing it needs all the people. Now the first thing to ask the jury is whether they voted or not and we weren't allowed to ask why they didn't vote and right away we're cut off from forty-two percent of the people in the country who would tend to agree with us simply because they don't recognize the system, either in an active way or a passive way, they don't vote. So we're already cut off from them. Then there are other actions by which the judge got rid of some people. We weren't who this jury was picked. For example, most political trials take two weeks to pick a jury. Sometimes three, sometimes four weeks. They picked this jury in two hours. And the judge read the indictment. You wouldn't be able to understand it. I don't understand it now to this day but if you had heard the judge read it in that half hour that he had in this room full of potential jurors like this, you would have said he's putting the hood right over their head. I mean this is

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"the judge. He hadn't lost a case in 20 - in his last 24 jury trials, in four years, he's got 24 guilty verdicts. He, too, is personally involved. He considers an acquittal or a hung jury as a defeat for him. He definitely considers himself a part of the Government team. He is part of the whole apparatus, his wife is the chief stockholder in Brunswick Corporation, very chief, Chairman of the Board of Stockholders. Brunswick Corporation makes pool tables, billiard balls, and also makes machine gun ammunition for use in Vietnam. There's seven - fifteen million dollars a year so it's right he should sit in judgment on us. _____ how he

feels about the war. It is also very interesting because he considers himself a local John Brown from northern Illinois so _____

I mean Bobby called him a racist, I couldn't believe that - a racist - ha, he, a racist. _____ he goes

bouncing around in his ten-forty eight robe, probably drunk. _____ picking the jury. We have some (uh) well, as you know (uh), Mr. _____, he's from New York, he's not from Chicago. _____ You know

Mr. Wine _____, Wine, he always gets _____ . He gets one of these names about so long, his name is Wineglass. We trimmed a plaque with Mr. Wineglass and each time he mispronounces it now we stand up. You know Mr. Wineglass, he's from Newark where they had the riots.

_____ prosecutors from Chicago. They don't know him

I didn't know this beforehand, but my wife worked for him about six years ago and the judge said. 'Oh, I can't have that _____.' Keep up beyond that, beyond that whole thing and (uh), Bobby Seale called him a racist. The judge said 'When Negro lawyers have come before this court, I've always treated them with the utmost respect. I am the best friend your race has ever had.'

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"About once a week, we all sing 'We Shall Overcome. He's no judge, he's a clown, because he shouldn't even _____, because he's an exaggerated person of what every judge is. It's _____ we have guys like Julius the Judge, and we have some (uh) forty liberal _____ the judge says, well, uh, ugh, and all we _____ Send them to jail for ten years for what they thought. _____

cause we picked Julius as well as picking the trial. Julius has an interesting kind of attitude. When Bobby Seale was first gagged and chained _____ the worst thing I ever saw in my life just sitting there in court. First of all, it's not like (uh), you know, running through the roads of Mississippi or anything or even being on the streets of Chicago because essentially it's a mental trip. You know, it's like being in a mental pressure cooker, they stick you in a room with a whole noon light ceiling, a room where the judge says this is _____ and there's a whole world full of _____.

Well, you can be tried _____ I'm gonna fight this to the highest court in the land _____ First of all he said it's all a different language. He read from the transcript which is not about 18,000 pages long and if you read it, you could see that the language that the judge uses and the prosecutor, it's all in this veiled language like we were talking about before. 1984 fascism. Where you got tried under the Civil Rights Act. Judge says, according to Bob, he said, take that man and _____ on him and _____ You know yourself _____ and they threw Bobby out and so he came back and he was all chained and gagged and a sheriff and marshals surrounded him. At that point there were fifty marshals in the room. There's about

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"that many always there, and the judge leaned over and said, 'I want you to know defendant Robert James Seale and the other co-defendants, that I'm only taking these measures to insure a fair and impartial trial for all of you.' Of all the things you've ever done, you'll find that if you've ever been in prison that the judge would tell you that he's doing this for your own good. It's kinda like keeping the _____ away from the kids that you'll be glad that it was done to you. Then they bring back the jury. The jury, most of all they're protected like a king's balls so that they bring the jury out and the jury sits there and the judge gives them a ten-minute speech about everything they should dis- totally disregard everything they've ever seen before and consider only the evidence in this case. It's only the evidence that must be considered in this case. Well, they couldn't chain and gag Bobby, they tried. I don't know but he was the right to defend himself. This is a basic constitutional right, it's a human right. People have a right to defend themselves, everybody understands that. But he was denied lawyer choice. Charlie was all our choice. We all want Charlie because Charlie has this very down to earth attitude when he talks to people. _____ get Charlie. We looked at him and said (uh) you as good as Perry Mason? He said, 'I'm better, his clients are all innocent.' _____ we need it. Well, they kept Charlie out and Lobby demanded the right to defend himself. When a lawyer _____ and counselor Bobby G. Seale would get up and say, 'I demand the right to cross-examine the witness' and the marshal would throw him back in the seat. Then he was tied up and he was gagged _____ then after ten minutes _____ we heard it come (makes gag-type noises saying 'I demand the right to cross-examine the witness.') I mean

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"It was amazing because it was everything the whole trial stands for. everybody was smiling and the spectators were jumping up and yelling, 'Fight on, fight on, Bobby' and they had to yank him up and drag him in front of the judge. Cool it, cool, cool, take him out and deal with him again. They had to deal with him three times that afternoon and still when _____ is a _____ came _____ all rise and the court will come to order and they had to stop the trial. They had to take Bobby back to Cook County Jail and try to give him tranquilizers to shut him up and they had to take him up to _____ University

_____ to prevent him from talking; the next morning they came in with a specially designed chair. Four _____ with a white apparatus and still within a half-hour all the pig technology didn't amount to shit. They couldn't stop one cat from talking. Finally they had cut him loose and that was that. You try it. You go home, you got something really heavy to say, you try gagging yourself, put in all kinds of cotton, tie your _____ up in a whole bunch of ways and you'll say you got something to say - there's no way you can be shut up - they can cut your fuckin tongue out or bite your head off. That's what this trial's about - it's a free speech trial, but you see people who never used free speech are all on trial or in prison or on their way up dead. People who believe in free speech are all over the fuckin place but believing it and doing it - that's quite two different things. We always see people, yeh, yeh, good luck, good luck, and gee, it's a rough deal and take care in Chicago, it's a really rough town, and good luck and all that and I really believe in what you're doing. They believe in _____ I don't even know what I'm doing. Well, we believe in (uh), your goals, but not your methods. I'm just looking for a whole band of people that dig our methods and not our goals. _____ those are the people that are

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"willing to themselves as military machines, industrial machines, educational machines, the church machines, the movie machines, every kind of pig machine you can can. There's vandalism - that's more relevant than communism and vandalism is where it's at. Last year in the high schools in this country, one hundred eighty million dollars worth of damage - now there are people who are in political power. They're afraid to find out what damage is. It's their politics, it's not the other way around. You don't control people, you don't keep people, it's their politics, and then expect them to do good things. You recognize the fact that they're oppressed. Young people in this country are oppressed. In Chicago right now tonight every person under 18 is an outlaw. If you're watching the television screens in Chicago at 10:30 right there, you get a big shit like a tidal wave and everything like a teletype that says it's now 10:30 PM and the curfew is in effect. If you're 18 or under, you get off the street. That's fascism. They have - in forty percent of the high schools in Chicago. There are now pigs in every corridor. There are pigs in the classrooms in a high school. I don't mean pigs that are teachers. They're pig pigs, real pigs, with guns in the high school, and here's that from the Justice Department talking about detention camps and locking up ideological criminals like you and all. Locking up people in detention camps. They got them down the old high school. Fred Hampton, 21 year old black person, speak his mind, it's free speech, uh? He got murdered in his fuckin' bed. I was in the fuckin' room and anybody whose got any ideas about what happened there, you should be in that fuckin' room. Bullet holes in the bed, bullet holes going one way. They killed him in a raid at 5:00 AM. He that Hanerhan (phonetic), and what that means to

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(17)

"Hanerhan is that he's out for without Daley's support, he's out
pig Daley's support.
Find out there ain't no bullets in the hall, but Hanerhan said, 'Oh, yes, there were' and released some photos of bullets in the door in the hall and the Chicago Tribune said

and then _____ said, hey, those aren't bullet holes, they're nails.

I didn't say they were bullet holes, it was inferred. That's the way it goes in Chicago. Long haired kids got scalped, scalped, they yanked a kid off, took him into court about a week ago, bald as Yul Brynner, for a parking ticket. Don't laugh at that, if you laugh at that, I'm gonna punch you in your fuckin' mouth. It's a long haired symbol of rejection in this pig system. I was a hippie, too. I was a flower child, I was living down there on the Lower East Side trying to get the community together, trying to found a new nation which was going to require more than just flowers, and if it was going to be flowers, we had to learn how to grow thorns as well.
you better wear something more than flowers in your hair cause you're gonna get the shit kicked out of you. So we believe in love, that's true. We believe in a new nation founded on love, but in order to love, we have to learn how to survive, in order to survive, we have to learn how to fight, because we're like two nations and two societies living right here on one stretch of land. Like two trains coming on one railroad track and that train's coming there led by Spiro and John the Butcher Mitchell, and all those other pigs. You've seen them, you just open the fuckin' newspaper and look, look at the society page, look at the pages, silent majority they call them, fuck - silent, that's how bankrupt the fuckin' nation is when it has to appeal to people who never say a fuckin' word.
_____ when
gave his speech, his major Vietnam policy speech

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"went like this:

~~certain facts that we've learned~~
that this country has been defeated in Vietnam
~~The people had helicopters and~~
a whole large machinery, but these guys and
gals had determination to stand up and fight
for their nation. Yeh,
but they fight dirty, they fight with bamboo
shoots with shit on the end
They fight dirty like they did in Chicago with
bags of human excrement. Every revolution,
the oppressor in power always said that the
people fighting for liberation are fighting
dirty. Up at Concord and Lexington, the British
pigs got the shit kicked out of them, you know,
by a bunch of long-haired crazy freaks up there."

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

67D [REDACTED] that the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is an all-Negro organization founded in Detroit, Michigan, in March, 1968. Robert F. Williams, who was then residing in Peking, China, was named as its President-in-Exile. Williams fled the United States in 1961 following issuance of a local warrant for his arrest on a charge of kidnapping growing out of a racial incident in Monroe, North Carolina. He published and broadcast hate-type material in Cuba and China prior to his return to the United States in September, 1969.

[REDACTED] that the purpose of the RNA is to establish an independent black nation within the United States, demanding the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina in addition to \$10,000 per black citizen as payment for 400 years of ancestral slave labor.

[REDACTED] that an army of the RNA, known as the Black Legion, dedicated to black freedom and committed to the concept of systematic armed revolution, has been established. Black Legion members are expected to participate in military training and engage in firearms practice. The RNA plans to establish an underground Black Legion in addition to an aboveground Black Legion in order to avoid detection by the police.

[REDACTED] Black Legion members acting as bodyguards at a session of the Second National Convention of the RNA in Detroit, Michigan, on March 29, 1969, were involved in a shoot-out with members of the Detroit Police Department which resulted in the killing of one policeman and the critical wounding of another.

APPENDIX

POLITICAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE
AT CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY (C-MU)
AND UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH (UP),
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
JANUARY 17, 1970

APPENDIX

1

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST UNION (RSU) 670

[REDACTED]

SDS is characterized in an attachment
hereto.

[REDACTED] hat the name
of Revolutionary Socialist Union (RSU) was adopted by the
group formerly known as UP-SDS, and a worker-student-alliance
philosophy was proposed.

[REDACTED]

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

[REDACTED] that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of worldwide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1603 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both the NO forces and the PLP forces claim to be the true SDS. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding Castro's position that the duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution. Weatherman is regarded by RYM II as an adventuristic, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness

POLITICAL REPRESSION OF CHINESE
AT CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY (C-MU)
AND UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH (UP),
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA,
JANUARY 17, 1970

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of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

[REDACTED] that the PLP faction which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of PLP is attached.

APPENDIX

1

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Hilton Rosen and Mortimer Schoor after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

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[REDACTED] that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's over-all revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

[REDACTED] that at the Second National Convention Hilton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon, and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

The April, 1969, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "Challenge is dedicated to the peoples fight for a new way of life--where the working men and women control their own homes and factories; where they themselves make up the entire government on every level and control the schools, courts, police and all institutions which are now used to control them."

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE DIFFERENCE
AT CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY (C-MU)
AND UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH (UP),
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA,
JANUARY 17, 1970

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[REDACTED]

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449923)

FROM: SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-13574) P

SUBJ: ABBOTT HOWARD HOFFMAN, aka
SM - AMA (Key Activist)
OO NY

ARL (PRINCIPAL SUBJECT)
OO CG

Re Kansas City letter to the Bureau dated 11/26/69.

For the information of New York and Chicago, on 2/20/70, a newspaper article appeared in "The Collegio" (newspaper of Kansas State College, Pittsburg, Kansas) entitled "Hoffman Appearance In Doubt". Within a portion of the text of this article, DENNIS MULLIN, Chairman of Emphasis '69 Program at Kansas State College, Pittsburg, Kansas, was quoted as saying, "PIERRE SALINGER is scheduled to speak in April, and I don't think we should have two big speakers in one month." HOFFMAN's appearance will be referred to the Scheduling Committee of the college. In view of HOFFMAN's recent conviction in Chicago, officials at Kansas State College at Pittsburg, Kansas, feel that he might not be able to appear on their campus as previously scheduled. To date, HOFFMAN is scheduled to appear on the scheduled date.

It is requested that the New York and Chicago Divisions advise the Kansas City Division as to whether HOFFMAN has been making speaking engagements during his trial in Chicago and further, if the possibility exists that he will not be able to appear on the Kansas State College Campus, Pittsburg, Kansas, in April of this year.

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